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Second Skins: Semiotic Readings in Taxidermic Reconstruction

by

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Abstract

If "taxidermy" denotes a material practice—the hollowing-out and re-stuffing of a corpse—it also connotes a more general problematic regarding the display of human mastery over nature and the preservation of death in the guise of life. This dissertation theorizes taxidermy not only as the literal practice of stuffing skins but also as a semiotic system that is translated across a variety of cultural texts. In particular, the project analyzes how historically specific practices of museum exhibition, ethnographic cinema, and media reportage deploy the semiotics of taxidermy to reinforce narratives of colonial conquest. Conflating the signs of "nature" and "natives," the semiotics of taxidermy encode ecological and racial discourses integral to the neocolonial imbalance of power in North America from 1900 to the present. By tracking the translation of taxidermy's semiotics in a constellation of inter-related case studies, this dissertation both historicizes colonialist ideology and interrogates its reinscriptions in our so-called postcolonial era.

Chapter one investigates taxidermy in its most familiar form—that of museological animal specimens—via a critique of the Banff Park Museum National Historic Site. Presenting itself as a time capsule that preserves the installation as it stood circa 1914, the museum articulates a discourse of nostalgia for the era of colonial control over both animal and aboriginal populations. The second and third chapters work in conjunction to analyze how the taxidermic strategy of representing death in the semblance of life may be translated into early ethnographic cinema in troubling ways. Engaging in close readings of Edward S. Curtis' *In the Land of the Headhunters* (1914) and Marius Barbeau's *Nass River Indians* (1927) respectively, these chapters also problematize the recent archival reconstruction of both films and their current

recirculation as once lost, now recovered celluloid fragments of "prehistory." Questions of recovery also inspire chapter four, which studies repatriation debates and the taxidermic fetishization of aboriginal remains via analysis of the recent Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi discovery in British Columbia. Investigating scientific attempts to reconstruct the genetic "profile" of pre-contact indigeneity, this chapter considers how taxidermy's semiotics are reinvented with the rise of genomics and biocolonialism today.

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Introduction
Tracking the Taxidermic: Notes on Critical Theory and Cultural Practice

Down where Montreal reaches a thin, slow-moving strip of the St. Lawrence River lies Vieux-Port, an historic quarter with winding cobblestone streets and stately brick buildings. As a favourite haunt for tourists in search of Old World charm without leaving the "new" continent, the Vieux-Port has maintained its heritage façades while transforming the interiors of many buildings into souvenir shops selling "Canadiana" in the form of landscape postcards, mountie keychains, maple syrup, and knock-off moccasins and dreamcatchers. Commodifying stereotyped signs of native cultures and colonial law and order, such memorabilia amalgamates this iconography into a caricatured, de-historicized, and de-politicized national mythology. While much of the same tourist kitsch is repeated from store to store, one emporium in particular attempts to outdo its competitors by specializing in ostensibly authentic and, hence, more expensive wares. Naming itself "Indianica: Artisanat amérindien et inuit" (Amerindian and Inuit arts and crafts), this store homogenizes First Nations cultures and appropriates what it quaintly refers to as the "arts and crafts" of the nation's native other for commercial purposes (*Indianica Brochure*) [Figure 1].[1] Catering to the tastes of wealthier tourists, Indianica sells collectors' knives, antique guns, and "traditional" native artwork for considerable prices, while still making room for maple syrup ("100% Pure & Delicious!") and "Canadian lumber jackets" (*Indianica Brochure*). Some of Indianica's most expensive merchandise, displayed in the store's front windows to attract the tourist gaze, are taxidermically preserved animals, ranging from a small coyote for $1,200.00 to a polar bear poised on its hind legs for $24,000.00 [Figure 2].

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[1] The problem of appropriating aboriginal "arts and crafts" as signs of national identity is further complicated by the fact that Indianica is located in the province of Quebec—a province influenced by a strong separatist movement and a considerable population that considers Quebec a nation unto itself.

Indianica and its collectibles prompt several important considerations regarding the ongoing co-optation and commodification of First Nations cultures in Canada today. While stores that trade on stereotypes of the native other are the kitschy trademark of western resort towns such as Banff and Whistler, the location of Indianica on the famous Rue St. Paul in cosmopolitan Montreal powerfully demonstrates how such "native" memorabilia has attained a national ubiquity. Moreover, even though Indianica purports to be all about "Amerindian and Inuit" merchandise, the store takes recourse to marketing aboriginal "arts and crafts" alongside antique guns and plaid lumber jackets—items that signify Euro-North American, not indigenous, cultures. In this sense, "Amerindian and Inuit" objects assume the status of tourist memorabilia when appropriated as part of a larger Canadian mythology—one that implicitly hinges upon a colonial romance. Staging this national mythology as consumerist phantasmagoria, one of Indianica's storefont windows displays a collection of antique guns hanging above a birchbark canoe, a pair of snowshoes, and a taxidermically-preserved coyote [Figure 3].[2] In this windowscape, what is celebrated is not the endurance of native cultures today but, rather, a mythologized past of European triumph over so-called "wildness"—emphasized via the sign of the gun, a sign of colonial violence and domination.

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[2] In "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," the introductory essay in Walter Benjamin's *Arcades Project*, Benjamin develops his concept of the phantasmagoria with nuance. In this context, Benjamin writes: "[o]ur investigation proposes to show how [...] the new forms of behavior and the new economically and technologically based creations that we owe to the nineteenth century enter the universe of a phantasmagoria. These creations undergo this 'illumination' not only in a theoretical manner, by an ideological transposition, but also in the immediacy of their perceptible presence. They are manifest as phantasmagorias. Thus appear the arcades [...]; thus appear the world exhibitions [....] Also included in this order of phenomena is the experience of the flâneur, who abandons himself to the phantasmagorias of the marketplace" (14). Benjamin's theorization of the phantasmagoria of the marketplace is particularly apt for describing Indianica's front windowscape. There, the commodities of antique guns, taxidermic animals, and birch bark canoes are "illuminated" via an "ideological transposition" that re-frames these objects in the light of a romance regarding the nation's "wild" origins, imbuing them with a "perceptible presence" as tangible souvenirs of this mythology.

Although the gun is generally recognized as a European technology transported to the New World by settlers and explorers, taxidermy is far less frequently identified as a distinctly European—rather than aboriginal—mode of preserving and representing an animal corpse in the image of wholeness, of life. By displaying mounted polar bears, coyotes, and moose heads as the proper objects of "Indianica," the store effectively constructs a tenuous and yet unsettling proximity between taxidermy and indigeneity.[3] What is at stake in displaying taxidermically-preserved animals under the sign of "Indianica"—of establishing a semiotic proximity between the sign of the dead but ostensibly preserved animal and the sign of "Indianness"? How might such a proximity be constructed by colonial discourse in an effort to racialize the aboriginal other? Throughout this dissertation, I will take up these questions through the examination of four inter-related case studies. In so doing, I will test out the hypothesis that colonial discourse at times strategically conflates the categories of indigeneity and animality in an attempt to frame the native other as a lesser species in the hierarchies of anthropocentric white supremacy. Moreover, by relegating the semiotic figure of the aboriginal to the realm of animality, colonial discourse inscribes its distinction between the sphere of culture—the domain of Western historical progress—and the ostensibly timeless realm of nature.

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[3] It is by no means incidental to note that the taxidermic specimens on display at Indianica were prepared not by a member of an aboriginal group but, rather, by a Québecois person who, according to the store's management, wishes to remain anonymous. It is also interesting to note that the store preemptively assured me that most of the "small game" taxidermy they sell is made from "roadkill" and that the particular polar bear in question was "put down by biologists because it was [...] killing young male cubs" (Email correspondence).

Over the past several decades, the interventions of postcolonial and race theory have brought to critical attention the well-worn colonialist strategy of describing the racialized other in animalistic terms. My project, therefore, is intellectually indebted to such scholarship for the important social and critical contexts it offers for beginning to understand the political stakes of the proximity between "taxidermy" and the figure of the aboriginal. Although Frantz Fanon's discussion in *The Wretched of the Earth* responds to the conditions of colonialism in Algeria, his theorization of the discursive and psychological processes of racialization is articulated as broader social dynamics. In analyzing the Manichean divisions inscribed by colonial discourse, Fanon traces the implications of such rigid binarisms between the white self and the racialized other. In this context, he asserts:

> At times this Manicheism goes to its logical conclusion and and dehumanizes the native, or to speak plainly, it turns him into an animal. In fact, the terms the settler uses when he mentions the native are zoological terms. He speaks of the yellow man's reptilian motions, of the stink of the native quarter, of breeding swarms, of foulness, of spawn, of gesticulations. When the settler seeks to describe the native fully in exact terms, he constantly refers to the bestiary. (Fanon *Wretched of the Earth* 42)

In this context, then, Fanon contends that the colonial binary between self and other relies upon a kind of species distinction between whiteness as humanness and racial difference from the white norm as bestiality. To reinforce this notion of a species divide, colonial discourse invents taxonomies that classify and contain difference via the language of zoology.

Paul Stoller argues that the use of "animal [...] symbolism" to describe colonial others is part of "longstanding racist imagery the history of which can be traced to

Herodotus through Gobineau to the present" (117).[4] While it is important to have an understanding of the historical development of such racializing strategies, this dissertation is particularly concerned with the specific mechanisms of colonialist race-making in North America from the turn of the twentieth-century to our contemporary moment. To theorize such processes, recourse to Brian Dippie's historical study, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy*, is instrumental. Here, Dippie argues that even in "the earliest European representations of the New World, raw nature and the natives and animals inhabiting it constituted a single phenomenon—American wilderness" (223-224). Arguably one of Dippie's most significant contributions to the study of the discursive conflation of the categories of "animals" and "aboriginals" is his historical analysis of the convergence of discourses, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, regarding the decline of wildlife on the receding frontier and the disappearance of aboriginal peoples as an endangered species.[5] According to Dippie, such narratives of extinction deployed stereotypes of the "once-mighty buffalo" and the stoic "Indian warrior" as interwoven symbols of disappearance. For example, these figures of vanishing are nostalgically mobilized in Harry Ellard's 1899 poem "The Passing of the Buffalo" which remarks:

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[4] Historians of Empire have demonstrated how pervasive and elastic this strategy of racialization is, spanning incredibly disparate geographical and cultural contexts. While it is important to acknowledge the differences between these contexts, it is also helpful, in supporting the argument regarding colonial discourse's mobilization of tropes of animality in the service of racialization, to draw upon critical scholarship that has already traced similar dynamics. In *Blank Darkness: Africanist Discourse in French*, Christopher L. Miller examines the conflation between the sign of the "animal" and the "racial other" in his incisive analysis of the discursive construction of "Africa" from Antiquity to the twentieth century. In the writings of the Greek Diodorus Siculus, Miller locates such a strategy of racialization. Specifically, Diodorus remarks: "The majority of them, especially those who dwell along the river, are black in colour and have flat noses and woolly hair. As for their spirit they are entirely savage and display the nature of a wild beast" (26). Moreover, in his critique of Joseph de Gobineau's *Essai sur l'inégalité des races humaines* (1853), Miller analyzes how Gobineau's "description" of humanity positions "the 'nullified civilization' *[la nullité civilisatrice]* of the blacks" as "the zero point," the state of nature at which no "civilization" exists. From this perspective, Gobineau frames "Mélaniens" (his vague category for "Africans") in the following terms: "[t]he Melanian variety is the humblest and lives at the bottom of the scale. The animalistic character etched in his loins imposes his destiny from the minute of conception" (17). Allen Feldman traces such racializing strategies in current American culture through his analysis of the Rodney King case. In his essay "From Desert Storm to Rodney King via ex-Yugoslavia: On Cultural Anaesthesia," Feldman argues that "[b]estial imagery" was used to racialize King and to legitimate police brutality by evoking "the jungle, the wilderness, the frontier [....as] pre-social naturalized terrain from which the sanctioned enforcer extracts the disciplinary subject as so-much 'raw material' to be re-worked by the state" (95). Such are only a few of numerous examples of the ways that, in many different historical and cultural contexts, tropes of animality have been mobilized to racialize others.

> On reservations now the blood grows cold
> In savage veins, where once 'twas fierce and bold.
> The Indian—proud—is destined soon to go,
> As in the Passing of the Buffalo. (qtd. in Dippie 225)

In this way, such colonial discourses used the semiotic figures of the dying buffalo and the tragically-fated aboriginal to narrate and to naturalize the supposedly inevitable extinction of these so-called inter-connected species. By mobilizing and also constructing a close affiliation between the tropes of the "passing buffalo" and the "vanishing Indian," therefore, colonial discourse was able to spin a melancholy narrative of disappearance that could dissimulate the violence of colonial policy in North America and its detrimental material effects upon the real referents of Aboriginal populations.[6]

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[5] While Dippie's analysis is invaluable, I want to note that the title of his book raises potential problems. Specifically, Dippie conflates the category of the "vanishing Indian" under the rubric of the "Vanishing American" in a way that holds the fraught potential to reinforce the national appropriation of the figure of the fading native as a melancholy and romanticized symbol of the nation's "prehistory." In this way, Dippie's critique risks collapsing the trope of the "vanishing Indian" under the sign of the colonial nation that was set on both narrating aboriginal disappearance and instituting governmental policies geared toward effecting the genocide of native populations.

[6] Writing back to the colonial processes aptly analyzed by Dippie, Vine Deloria uses irony in his essay "Indians Today, The Real and the Unreal" to destabilize the colonialist conflation of the semiotic figures of "nature" and "the native." Subversively mimicking the logic of the colonizer, Deloria writes: "Like the deer and the antelope, Indians seemed to play rather than get down to the serious business of piling up treasures upon the earth where thieves break through and steal. Scalping, introduced prior to the French and Indian War by the English, confirmed the suspicion that Indians were wild animals to be hunted and skinned. Bounties were set and an Indian scalp became more valuable than beaver, otter, marten, and other animal pelts" (10-11). By re-framing the practice of scalping—stereotypically considered an aboriginal practice indicative of primitive warfare—and describing it as an "English" convention in the New World, Deloria marks the "savagery" that underpinned colonialism's so-called "civilizing" imperative. In the footnotes to his essay, Deloria quotes a proclamation passed in Boston in 1755 that outlines the monetary award for male and female Indian scalps, demonstrating how the law turned genocide into a good trade

Genealogies of Taxidermy

To better understand the history of taxidermy's development as a decisively European and Euro-North American technology of representation and of imperial intimidation, it is important to briefly re-trace the etymology and genealogy of taxidermy as a concept and practice.[7] The term "taxidermy" is etymologically derived from the Greek words *taxis*, meaning "arrangement" or "preparation," and *derma*, meaning "skin" (Moyer 1). While the definitive date for the preparation of the first taxidermic specimen remains uncertain, the word itself first appeared "in an article by Louis Dufresne published in the *Nouveau dictionnaire d'histoire naturelle* (1803-1804)" (Wonders 23).[8] Although most taxidermy websites concede that this technology of representation is a distinctly European and Euro-North American invention, "Taxidermy.Net"—one of the largest online information gateways devoted to the subject—attempts to link the modern practice of stuffing or mounting animal corpses to "prehistoric" origins. Weaving such an affiliation, the website asserts: "[t]he first taxidermists were primitive hunter-gatherers who crudely formed animal skins over mud and rock for use in their hunting rituals. Over the eons, as methods to preserve these skins improved and the need for tanned skins increased, the tanner became one of the most important members of the tribe" ("A Brief

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practice. Thus, in profoundly unsettling terms, Deloria demonstrates the ways that colonial discourse's collapsing of the categories of "animality" and "aboriginality" rendered "Indians" another species marked for the hunt.

[7] Some of the following information has been obtained from online sources for current taxidermists, both professional and amateur. Because few studies on the cultural genealogy of taxidermy as a concept and practice have been published in the current era, some of the most interesting discussions of taxidermy and its history may be located on websites for those who are personally invested in taxidermy as an "art form" or as a mode of preservation for hunting trophies.

[8] Taxidermic practice, as will be discussed later, pre-dated the first published use of the word. The work of several professional taxidermists in Europe, England, and the United States from the mid-1700s onwards has been well documented, therefore establishing that taxidermy was practiced from at least the eighteenth century.

History" *Taxidermy.Net Website*). Here, the narration of taxidermy's origins in terms of a fierce struggle between "primitive" man and wild animals fuels a broader white mythology that both links and distinctly separates modern commercial and hobby taxidermists from this "prehistory." Beyond the common sense racism operative in this narrative of the "first taxidermists," such a discourse lends itself to even more pernicious ideological formulations. For example, the precarious potential to slide into a white fantasy of "primitive" lifeways may be mobilized by contemporary taxidermists in order to phantasmatically re-imagine their own "indigeneity," their own primary relation to nature. At the same time, however, this mythology of origins readily lends itself to the inscription of a discourse of evolutionary progress that marks a critical difference between "primitive" and "modern" taxidermists, implying that while "primitive" man was essentially part of the animal world, the modern taxidermist is nature's master.[9]

Contrary to the mythology inscribed on the "Taxidermy.Net" website, the particular technology of taxidermic reconstruction is distinct from aboriginal practices of tanning hides or "ancient" Egyptian practices of animal mummification ("Historically Speaking" *South Pacific Taxidermy Website*). As Karen Wonders comments, "[u]nlike embalming, by which the dead body is preserved, taxidermy attempts to restore the form, expression and attitude of the living animal" (23). Moreover, unlike earlier practices of embalming or tanning, taxidermy developed with a doubled function: namely, the artistic pursuit of imitating nature and the scientific pursuit of collecting and preserving natural history specimens. As a specific method of preserving animal bodies in the guise of life, therefore, taxidermy has only been traced back to roughly 450 years in the past, when the first documented attempt at such a preservation technique was initiated by a wealthy Hollander who sought to retain—albeit in deceased form—a collection of birds that suffocated during transportation from the East Indies (Moyer 2).[10] Many of the earliest taxidermic specimens on record were similarly "exotic" species, including a crocodile from Egypt in the Museum at St. Gall, Switzerland in 1627 (Moyer 2) and an early seventeenth-century Dodo bird from Mauritius displayed in Britain's first public museum ("Historically Speaking" *South Pacific Taxidermy Website*). The development of taxidermic methods was thus importantly linked to the rise of colonial exploration and the related desire to collect and to study specimens from distant lands. Taxidermy was also inextricably linked to the rise of natural history studies in Europe and the concomitant development of both private collections and public museums (movements that also cannot be understood apart from the socio-cultural changes effected by the discovery and subjugation of new lands). Specimen collection and preservation accordingly became integral aspects of Western society's project to master the unknown and to impose a colonial order of things upon the world.

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[9] In his book *Stuffed Animals and Pickled Heads: The Culture and Evolution of Natural History Museums*, Stephen Asma similarly attempts to link taxidermy to the practices of "primitive hunter-gatherers," though it remains unclear as to whether he considers these practices taxidermy proper (9). Asma's repeated reference to these "primitive hunter-gatherers" as "our predecessors" further serves to both link and yet simultaneously mark the evolutionary distance between "primitive" man and the superior "modern" taxidermist (9).

By 1851, the link between taxidermy and the accomplishments of European nations in the imperial contest was affirmed at the Great Exhibition of the Works and Industry of All Nations, held in London, England. Although the Exhibition purported to be a showcase for international accomplishments, half of the exhibitors were British and, thus, the event was in actuality more about the demonstration of British supremacy to other nations—a strategy of imperial intimidation ("Historically Speaking" *South Pacific Taxidermy* Website). In terms of the Exhibition's taxidermy displays, specimens produced by fourteen practitioners from England, Scotland, and Germany were showcased in the Crystal Palace, while one London taxidermist named John Gould displayed a collection of stuffed hummingbirds only a few miles away, selling his specimens as souvenirs ("Historically Speaking" *South Pacific Taxidermy Website*). The taxidermy presented at this exhibition tended to be sensationalistic, supposedly catering to the masses by portraying animals in violent predator-prey struggles or in comical anthropomorphic poses (Wonders 34). Despite what some established taxidermists perceived as the "low brow" style of these animal mounts, the Great Exhibition displays won the interest and approval of Queen Victoria, prompting increased British and international interest in this "art form" (Coppard 5).

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[10] Supporting Moyer's observations (from his work as a former Staff Taxidermist at the Field Museum of Natural History), the *Scotts Taxidermy Website* similarly reports that some of the first taxidermically preserved animals were bird specimens obtained from India and preserved in Holland ("History of Taxidermy" *Scotts Taxidermy Website*).

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the United States rose to prominence in the field of taxidermy preparation, shifting the hub of leadership and innovation in this field from Europe to the New World. This shift was in part due to the training of the "first generation of museum professionals in the USA" at Ward's Natural Science Establishment, a private natural history supply house where several important practitioners first learned and developed new taxidermic techniques (Wonders 110). Several students of Ward's later formed the Society of American Taxidermists and, through their various positions at museums across the country, collectively "challenged the dominant exhibition philosophy of the time by giving scientific legitimacy to the new 'artistic' techniques of displaying zoological specimens" (Wonders 112). Moreover, with the rise of studies in animal movement and emotion such as Eadweard Muybridge's *The Science of Animal Locomotion and Its Relation to Design and Art* (1887) and Darwin's *The Expression of the Emotions in Men and Animals* (1872), coupled with the emergence of filmic technology and its capacities for portraying animal vitality, taxidermic practice was challenged to improve and extend its realist techniques (Wonders 24). As a result, new methods strove to intensify the lifelike appearance of specimens (where the meaning of the animal and its expressions were predetermined) and "to suggest movement without motion" (Wonders 24).

In particular, two key members of the Society of American Taxidermists made important contributions to mounting techniques. William Temple Hornaday, chief taxidermist for the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) and, later, director of the New York Zoological Gardens, transformed taxidermy from a kind of upholstery procedure to an art form by developing a process for creating a clay-covered manikin upon which skins could be moulded. In turn, Carl Akeley, an employee of the Field Museum of Natural History and the AMNH, pioneered a more lightweight manikin by layering papier mâché over a plaster of paris mould and then using the hollow paper form as the structure around which the skins were arranged (Coppard 5). These "revolutions in taxidermic practice" effectively moved "taxidermy away from the limitations of simple stuffing [and] toward a kind of sculpture" that reconstructed dead animals in more fluid, lifelike, and ostensibly "natural" poses (Simpson "Powers of Liveness" 6). "Here," according to Mark Simpson, "the aesthetic ambitions of these taxidermic revolutionaries crystallize: through animal re-creation taxidermy [...] make[s] its mark as an *artless* art—an art *for* nature and *against* artifice, a mode of mediation [ostensibly] beyond mediation itself" ("Powers of Liveness" 6). Akeley also developed the concept of the habitat diorama which sought to provide an environmental context for specimens by synthetically re-creating their natural surroundings. The diorama structure accordingly sought to return violently extracted and reconstructed animal corpses to a phantasmatic scene of the natural world—a reproduction of wildlife's origins deserving of the realism enabled by new taxidermic innovations (Simpson "Immaculate Trophies" 89).

Over the past two decades, a growing field of scholarship has drawn these "revolutions in taxidermic practice" into sharp critical focus. Drawing upon this emerging body of criticism, I want to begin to flesh out the ways in which taxidermy is related to the discursive and semiotic construction of race. In the late 1980s, cultural theorist Donna Haraway published the first seminal essay in the field—the now famous "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908-1936." In this essay, Haraway studies the display of taxidermic specimens in the American Museum of Natural History's African Hall, as collected and prepared by Carl Akeley during the early twentieth century. Working from this context, Haraway incisively analyzes how the museological pursuit of preserving animal life in the form of embalmed death was intimately bound up with eugenics discourses of the era. Specifically, "[d]ecadence—the threat of the city, civilization, machine—was stayed in the politics of eugenics and the art of taxidermy" (27). According to Haraway, the taxidermy displays in the African Hall produced an illusion of organic wholeness and "arrested decay"—a fantasy of the "hygiene of nature" that could "cure the sick vision of civilized man" (45, 30). Moreover, by freeze-framing the gorillas and lions of Africa in poses of eugenic fitness, white men such as Carl Akeley marked their communion with and yet mastery over nature. While Haraway's study provocatively demonstrates how taxidermy came to signify white male supremacy, her focus upon the African Hall and Akeley's hunting on the African continent particularly emphasizes the relations between taxidermy, eugenics discourses, and the imperial enterprise *beyond* America's borders. In this sense, her analysis of the taxidermic display of foreign and so-called exotic species leaves open further consideration of how the dynamics of taxidermic collection and representation might shift when investigated in relation to the hunting, killing, and embalming of animals indigenous to American soil.

In his 1999 essay "Immaculate Trophies," Mark Simpson initiates the crucial work of studying taxidermy "at home" in North America—a geopolitical space that he considers in nuanced terms. Analyzing taxidermy's cultural meanings in the same time period as Haraway's study, Simpson re-focuses debate upon the taxidermic work of American William Hornaday and Canadian Norman Luxton, who honed his trade in the Rocky Mountains. Productively complicating Haraway's critique, Simpson examines taxidermy in relation to a transnational politics of white supremacy hinging upon an elite hunting culture that frequently crossed the forty-ninth parallel in search of wildlife bounty. In this context, Simpson argues that the "sport" of big-game hunting practiced by white patriarchs at the turn of the twentieth century was integrally linked to eugenics-based health and fitness discourses invested in maintaining Euro-North American racial mastery for perpetuity. Accordingly, taxidermy reinforced "the moral fitness of biological hierarchy that makes man 'the master animal'" ("Immaculate Trophies" 89).

The significance of taxidermy's investment in "biological hierarchy" is integrally linked to socio-cultural anxieties particular to the white ruling classes of America at the turn of the twentieth century. As Simpson argues in his essay "Powers of Liveness," a changing cultural climate in the United States fomented a preoccupation amongst white elites to "restore the vitality" of what seemed to them "(surprisingly enough) to be a vanishing population": themselves ("Powers of Liveness" 3). In an era of increased industrialization, urbanization, and immigration, many white elites in American society feared the devolution of their ruling class. According to Jennie Kassanoff, the desire to stave off devolution was integrally linked to the art of taxidermy in the following way: "the patrician impulse to glorify racial culture and the taxidermic quest to capture eugenic nature shared a common desire—to secure an American identity impervious to hybridization and change" (64).[11] Taxidermy, then, became symbolic of white male mastery over nature and the power to control the forces of racial and social decay.

If taxidermy emerged as a technology of representation bound up with the preservation of the white self, how then does it relate to Euro-North America's colonial other? I want to suggest that the racialist anxieties of the Anglo-Saxon bourgeois establishment in North America was intimately bound up with the discourse of the vanishing Indian. As a way of shoring up their own identity in an era of change, the Anglo-Saxon elite could project their own fears of demise onto the figure of the racialized other, making aboriginality synonymous with disappearance. Simpson points toward this problematic in "Immaculate Trophies" when he articulates the crucial linkages between taxidermy and indigeneity, arguing that natural history studies circa

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[11] In a less well-known article entitled "Extinction, Taxidermy, Tableaux Vivants: Staging Race and Class in *The House of Mirth*," Jennie A. Kassanoff extends Haraway's analysis by linking taxidermy to another mode of representation: namely, the *tableau vivant*. Kassanoff argues that both these technologies of representation, at the turn of the century, were integral to discourses of eugenics and the attempts of Anglo-Saxon bourgeois communities in America to solidify their racial supremacy in an era of increased industrialization and immigration (64).

1900 sought "to materialize and conserve the culture of nature through the wildlife specimen and the First Nations artifact, objects whose affiliated synecdochic powers remain talismanic for white supremacy" ("Immaculate Trophies" 87). While Simpson does not expand upon this dynamic at length, his incisive comment opens the door for further theorization of the very problematics I will interrogate throughout this dissertation.

Fatimah Tobing Rony also investigates the discursive linkages between taxidermy and aboriginality via a critique of early twentieth-century ethnographic cinema. In her 1996 book *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle*, Rony reads Robert Flaherty's 1922 *Nanook of the North*—a silent documentary about a family of Itivimuit (a group of Quebec Inuit)—as a "taxidermic" form of filmic representation. Rony contends that, similar to the way that taxidermy "seeks to make that which is dead look as if it were still living," *Nanook* operates on the assumption that indigenous peoples are "already dying if not dead" and, thus, deploys the work of filmic artifice to imaginatively reincarnate and to preserve indigeneity on celluloid (102). In this context, Rony argues that the ethnographic filmmaker functions as a kind of "taxidermist" who deploys simulation to produce a supposedly more authentic, purer image of aboriginality than what could be found in "nature" itself (102). Here, the implicit assumption underpinning ethnographic films like *Nanook of the North* is that aboriginality is inherently part of "nature," separate from the realm of "culture" and the time of Western history. Although Rony does not explicitly articulate her project in the following terms, her re-deployment of the concept of "taxidermy" for a critique of early ethnographic cinema powerfully underscores the discursive affiliations between the tropes of "animality" and "aboriginality" in anthropological and colonial discourses—discourses that perniciously racialize indigenous peoples as a "primitive" species fated for extinction in the wake of "civilization's" progress.

The compelling analyses offered by Haraway, Simpson, and Rony have been profoundly influential to my own research regarding taxidermy. Collectively, these critiques have provided an excellent basis for understanding the complex relations between taxidermic practices and the conservation movement, elite hunting culture, natural history studies, and anthropological discourses in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century North American society. At the same time, this collective focus on the decades around 1900 has prompted me to consider how taxidermy and, more broadly, taxidermic modes of representation have circulated throughout the twentieth century and into the current era. My dissertation, in many senses, constitutes a response to this question, a response that takes unexpected shapes throughout the following chapters. Rather than reading taxidermy strictly in terms of the literal practice of dissecting, hollowing out, and re-stuffing animal corpses, I want to take up and expand upon Rony's invitation to reconceptualize taxidermy as a technology of representation that might be re-applied in relation to ethnographic cinema or other cultural texts. My dissertation accordingly aims to re-theorize taxidermy as a complex semiotic system that is reconfigured across a variety of social texts including (but not limited to) ethnographic films, museum installations, and media coverage of repatriation debates—all of which will be discussed later in this introduction.

By theorizing taxidermy in these terms, I do not wish to construct a teleology in which this "preservation" technique has necessarily evolved over time from literal to more figurative forms or, more specifically, to suggest that the literal practice of stuffing animal corpses has disappeared and that we must now locate taxidermic modes of representation elsewhere. In making this point, I do not want to overwrite how the status of taxidermy in North American society has changed over the past hundred years, and particularly in the last few decades, with the rise of environmental and animal rights movements that have rendered this form of animal "preservation" a deeply controversial practice. Despite these cultural shifts, the commercial and museological preparation of wildlife specimens and trophy heads continues with a vengeance, as evinced by the plethora of national and international taxidermy associations and conventions listed on the *Taxidermy.Net* website.[12] While taxidermy proper still persists, taxidermic structures of representation have also diversified, re-coding taxidermy's matrix of discourses regarding preservation and extinction, death and reincarnation, and culture's manipulation of "nature" in new textual and material forms. In this context, my dissertation will track taxidermy's transmogrifications in North American society from the turn of the twentieth century to the current era with a view toward articulating the force of history to the politics of taxidermic reconstruction in the present tense. To do so,

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[12] Discussing changing cultural attitudes toward taxidermy and the rise of animal rights activism, Patricia Coppard refers to a Greenpeace protest action at the 1984 Canadian Taxidermy Championships in Toronto where activists threw green paint at the exhibits (4). In her book *The Cultural Politics of Fur*, Julia Emberley engages in a thoughtful critique of recent animal rights protests against the use of fur in the fashion industry. While Emberley's discussion does not deal with taxidermy in particular, her analysis of such protest movements over the past few decades provides a more general context for understanding broader social forces that have contributed to shifts in attitudes toward taxidermy. Despite the popularization of environmental and animal rights concerns, however, taxidermic practice continues, as demonstrated by the *Taxidermy.Net* website—an extensive resource and gateway to other taxidermy webpages. Under the lengthy list of taxidermy associations, the website lists the International Guild of Taxidermy, the National Taxidermists' Association (U.S.), the Canadian Taxidermy Association, and the UK Guild of Taxidermists (situated at the Glasgow Museum and Art Gallery), to name a few. As well, there are several regularly published magazines devoted entirely to taxidermy, including *Breakthrough*, *Taxidermy Today*, *North American Taxidermy News*, and *Outlook*. There are also annual World Taxidermy Championships held at rotating locations across the globe.

I want to first theorize in some detail two integral and inter-connected concepts at stake in this project: namely, "semiotics" and "constellation."

Taxidermy's Semiotics

Because the term "semiotics" has arguably become overdetermined, it is important to outline how this concept is theorized and deployed throughout this dissertation. Like most scholars with a background in the field of literary theory, my understanding of semiotic inquiry is indebted to the early twentieth-century work of Swiss structural linguist Ferdinand de Saussure. In his *Course in General Linguistics* (compiled and published posthumously by his students in 1916), Saussure develops his *sign model*—a model that conceptualizes the sign as a two-part form comprised of a *signifier* and a *signified*, both of which are "mental entities [...] independent of any external object" (Noth 60). According to this schema, the term *signifier* denotes a "sound-image"—sounds, letters, gestures, *et cetera*—while the concept to which the *signifier* refers is termed the *signified* (Saussure 67). The process by which the signifier and signified are linked together is called *signification* (Sebeok 6). Key to Saussure's theory is his assertion that the "bond between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary": rather than constituting a "natural connection," this "bond" is "fixed by rule" via the conventions established in a particular linguistic community (67-69).[13] Within this system of signification, signs do not have a "positive" content; rather, they take on meaning or value only by virtue of their differences from other signs. In this vein, Saussure contends: "Language is a system of interdependent terms in which the value of each term results solely from the simultaneous presence of the others [....] Content is really fixed only by the concurrence of everything that exists outside it" (qtd. in Noth 61). In combination, these principal elements of Saussurean linguistics offered an important new approach for systematic, structural analyses of the social production of meaning. [14]

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[13] The brief genealogy of semiotic inquiry re-traced here is by no means comprehensive and many key figures will not be mentioned. For example, some semioticians might disagree with my focus upon Saussure by arguing that I should have paid equal attention to the work of Saussure's contemporary, the linguist Charles Saunders Pierce. I will proactively respond by saying that the field of semiotics is so vast and heterogeneous that I have decided to trace one genealogy of a particular vein of theorization that most effectively resonates with my own critical project and my interests as a practitioner of literary and cultural studies. Rather than providing a wide-ranging survey of semiotic inquiry—including many fields and applications that I have strong critical and political resistances to—I want to outline the particular thinkers who are most influential to my own theorization and practice.

In his 1964 lecture "Semantics of the Object," Roland Barthes reflects on the contributions of Saussure in the following terms: "Semiology or, as it is more usually called in English, semiotics, was postulated some fifty years ago by the great Genevan linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, who had foreseen that linguistics would eventually be only one department of a much more general science of signs" (179). "Till now," Barthes remarks, "one science has studied how humanity gives meaning to articulated sounds: this is linguistics. But how does humanity give meaning to the things which are not sounds?" (178). Taking up this query in his own research, Barthes attempted to study semiotic systems beyond the strictly linguistic and toward a consideration of images, objects, and even specific material systems. In his 1964 text *Elements of Semiology*, Barthes outlines several focused fields of semiotic inquiry, including "the garment system," "the food system," "the car system," and "the furniture system" that, although not predicated upon verbal communication, could be analyzed via recourse to Saussurean structuralist principles (25-28). Barthes' project accordingly re-conceptualized semiology as a study not only applicable to linguistic systems but also to broader, more heterogeneous, and shape-shifting networks of cultural images, objects, and texts.

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[14] Demonstrating the diverse fields of semiotics inquiry, Jonathon Culler cites Umberto Eco's introduction to *A Theory of Semiotics*, in which he offers "a list of the concerns of the field that is almost comical in its range and disorder: 'Zoosemiotics, Olfactory signs, Tactile communication, Codes of taste, Paralinguistics, Medical semiotics, Kinesics and proxemics, Musical codes, Formalized languages, Written languages, Unknown alphabets and secret codes, Natural languages, Visual communication, Systems of objects, Plot structure, Text theory, Cultural codes, Aesthetic texts, Mass communication, Rhetoric'" (xvi). This sweeping list demonstrates the heterogeneous ways semiotic inquiry has been applied. Moreover, the mention of applied interests such as zoosemiotics (the study of animal communication, of which Thomas Sebeok at the University of Toronto is a leading researcher) and medical semiotics point toward the diverse methodological approaches to semiotic study, ranging from the empirical and scientific to the poststructuralist theoretical critiques deployed by literary theorists or cultural studies practitioners. I would categorize my own research as part of the latter.

As Barthes' semiotic investigations evolved throughout his career, he diverged further from structuralist principles of the study of signs by resisting conceptualizations of semiotics as a strict science. In a published lecture dated 1974, Barthes writes:

> I no longer believe—nor do I desire—that Semiology should be a simple science, a positivist science, and this for a primordial reason: it is the responsibility of semiology [...] to question its own discourse: it cannot accept its own language as a datum, a transparency, a tool [...] it interrogates itself as to *the place from which it* speaks, an interrogation without which any [...] ideological criticism [...is] ridiculous. (7-8)

Barthes' assertion that semiotics must continually question the terms of its own discourse is a crucial observation that will guide my work throughout this dissertation. Moreover, Barthes' statement importantly redefines semiotics not as a "simple science, a positivist science" but, rather, as an important form of "ideological criticism" that implicates the semiotician as well as the subject matter under study. In this context, semiotics is re-conceptualized as a more fluid and dynamic form of analysis that seeks to unpack the politically-charged contexts in which sign systems work to produce meaning.

Building upon Barthes' re-conceptualization of semiotics beyond the strictly scientific, critical interventions from the field of poststructural theory have sharpened semiotic inquiry by challenging its previous focus upon synchronic, closed systems. In this sense, the last few decades have demonstrated that "poststructuralism does not [necessarily] mean postsemiotic" (Noth 297). In particular, the work of French philosopher Jacques Derrida has made profound contributions to re-theorizing the operation (or "play," as he would call it) of signs. Challenging Saussure's structuralism and its static formulation of the meaning of signs, Derrida writes in his seminal essay "Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences": "[t]he concept of centred structure is in fact the concept of a play based on a fundamental ground, a play constituted on the basis of a fundamental immobility and a reassuring certitude, which itself is beyond the reach of play" (279). Analyzing these limits to structuralist thought, Derrida adds the dimension of diachrony—the element of time—in order to re-theorize the play of signs as dynamic and ongoing, "a generative movement that makes interpretation a semantic process of infinite regression" (Noth 306). Rather than paralyzing or preventing any kind of meaningful analysis, attentiveness to the "play" of signs within "a field of infinite substitutions" offers a nuanced way of understanding the dynamic process of meaning-making (Derrida 289). Derrida also contends that a consideration of the "play" of signs and their ongoing slippage enables strategic possibilities for resistance to hegemonic discourses (Derrida 289). Specifically, dominant concepts once thought to be part of a "centred structure" may, via deconstructive reading, be destabilized and re-deployed as "tools" or "instruments" used to "destroy the old machinery to which they belong and of which they themselves are pieces" (Derrida 284).

Re-deploying Derrida's insights for the purposes of my dissertation, I seek to investigate one particular sign system in order to critique and strategically re-appropriate it as an "instrument" for deconstructing and defamiliarizing the dominant discourses it has been used to reinforce. The sign system at stake here operates via the concept of "taxidermy." According to Donna Haraway, "[t]axidermy fulfills the fatal desire to represent, to be whole; it is a politics of reproduction" (30). If taxidermy is "a politics of reproduction," it is also a technology that is particularly *reproducible*—a technology that has been repeatedly reproduced for politically charged uses since the early 1900s. More specifically, I contend that taxidermy is reproduced and diversified as a continually re-articulating network of signs crucially linked to hegemonic neocolonial, ecological, and racial discourses. In this vein, my dissertation employs a kind of materialist semiotic critique to track the reconfigurations of a specific sign system—that which I will refer to as "the semiotics of taxidermy"—within particular historical and geographical contexts: namely, the North American northwest from the turn of the twentieth century to the present. Thus situated, the semiotics of taxidermy work to reinforce narratives of white mastery over the categories of "nature" and "natives," strategically conflating these two semiotic figures in ways that perniciously reinforce colonialism's racially-inflected hierarchical ordering of life forms. Theorizing taxidermy in the expanded terms of a semiotic system provides a malleable and yet materialist and situated (rather than ahistorical and universal) critical method for tracking the resilient realignments of colonial discourse throughout the past century and into our so-called *post*colonial era.[15]

To better understand what is at stake in the semiotics of taxidermy, I want to outline a few key concepts that are repeatedly recirculated within this sign system. One of the most crucial aspects of the semiotics of taxidermy, I contend, is its temporal coding—or, the way this sign system inscribes and manipulates time. In "Teddy Bear Patriarchy," Haraway discusses the function of taxidermy in the African Hall of the American Museum of Natural History in a way that subtly points toward the sophisticated temporal dynamics that contour this exhibition and its preserved specimens. Describing the visitor's entry into this installation space, she writes:

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[15] By referring to my work as a "materialist semiotic critique," I seek to offer a more specific definition of my methodology than a general referencing of semiotics would provide. In this vein, I want to distinguish my critical practice from other branches of semiotic inquiry that reinforce forms of empiricism, strict structuralist principles (early Barthes), or biological determinism (Sebeok's study of zoosemiotics). My use of the phrase "materialist semiotic critique" is intended to acknowledge the ways that my work is influenced by: poststructural theorizations of semiotics (later Barthes); meditations on historical constellation and the affective powers of material objects as repositories of cultural memory (the historical materialism of Benjamin); and considerations of the historical and social lives of things (the cultural materialism of Bill Brown). Moreover, by invoking the concept of materialism, I seek to indicate how this dissertation studies technologies of representation and their textual products as material processes contoured by the particular circumstances of their production and circulation. In so doing, my project also emphasizes the multi-sensory aspects of these objects and the diverse affective responses they solicit, something that might be difficult to negotiate with empirical or fixed structuralist models.

> Passing through the Museum's Roosevelt Memorial atrium into the African Hall, opened in 1936, the ordinary citizen enters a privileged space and time: the Age of Mammals in the heart of Africa, scene origins. A hope is implicit in every architectural detail: in immediate vision of the origin, perhaps the future can be fixed. By saving the beginnings, the end can be achieved and the present can be transcended. (26)

Implicit in this commentary is the complex work of time: in an ostensibly frozen primal scene of the world's beginnings, futurity is prophesied and inscribed in a similarly idealized form. Rather than operating as a temporal vacuum, therefore, the African Hall of taxidermic monuments both travels infinitely backwards toward "scene origins" and, through recourse to this phantasmatically reconstructed past, simultaneously projects an imagined future for its visitors encountering the installation in the present.

While Haraway's analysis gestures toward sophisticated temporal dynamics at stake in taxidermic modes of representation, references to time throughout her essay remain somewhat oblique. Prompted by her suggestive work, this dissertation seeks to elaborate upon and to theorize in more explicit terms the profound significance of temporality to the semiotics of taxidermy. At one point in "Teddy Bear Patriarchy," Haraway argues that taxidermy seeks to "produce permanence, to arrest decay" (55). Though provocative, this statement remains somewhat enigmatic, latent with possibilities for further theorization. Taking up this opportunity, I want to begin with a premise that appears, upon a first reading, to be obvious: the notion of taxidermic "permanence" is a temporal iteration of sorts. Rather than constituting a simplistic antithesis to temporal passage or an easy synonym for stasis or the cessation of time, however, taxidermic permanence hinges upon *putting time into play*. More specifically, taxidermic specimens are monuments to a past that has been rescued from the detritus of history and preserved not just for the present moment but also for an imagined future. In this sense, taxidermic modes of representation perpetually re-articulate pastness and perpetuity in dynamic configurations.

Another related aspect of the semiotics of taxidermy involves the strategic management of the categories of "life" and "death." While taxidermy re-creates death in the image of life, its hyper-realist tactics of reincarnation effectively inscribe the macabre sign of mortality upon that which it claims to revivify. In a similar way, although taxidermic modes of representation purport to engage in the work of preservation, this sign system ironically encodes the threat of extinction upon the objects it frames.[16] Since the rise of taxidermic innovation during the decades around 1900 and the concomitant championing of this preservation technique by conservationists and elite white sportsmen, taxidermy's cultural meanings within North American society have been powerfully contoured by key social discourses of this turn-of-the-century period. In particular, taxidermy's historically and geographically specific meanings in the "New

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[16] Throughout this dissertation, I will refer to the animal and aboriginal figures framed by the semiotics of taxidermy as "object" rather than "subject" matter. This strategy is not intended to deny the subjectivity of First Peoples in any way; rather, it is deployed as a defamiliarizing tactic to underscore the ways that taxidermic modes of representation reduce subjects to objects rendered accessible for collecting, displaying, and studying.

World" are intimately bound up with three inter-related narratives of death and disappearance: namely, the *grand récits* of the receding frontier, the disappearance of wildlife, and the vanishing Indian. All three narratives are vital tools of North American colonial discourses, legitimating westward expansion as part of the inevitable tide of progress while simultaneously purporting to mourn the casualties of "civilization's" destiny.

One of the most famous articulations of the discourse of the receding frontier is Frederick Jackson Turner's 1893 address at the World's Congress of Historians entitled "The Significance of the Frontier in American History."[17] Writing a mournful eulogy for the "ever-retreating frontier" and its integral influence upon the so-called democratic American character, Turner laments: "[a]nd now, four centuries from the discovery of America, at the end of a hundred years of life under the Constitution, the frontier has gone, and with its going has closed the first period of American history" (59-60). While Turner celebrates the forging of American identity via the "colonization of the Great West," he simultaneously articulates deep nostalgia for the disappearance of the rugged frontier that shaped the emergence of an ostensibly resilient and powerful nation (31).

For Turner, the frontier constituted an ever-decreasing real geographic entity that functioned as a contact zone—"the outer edge of the wave [,...] the meeting point between savagery and civilization"—where the colonist encountered raw nature and its supposedly primitive aboriginal inhabitants (32). As a result, the recession of the frontier also meant the disappearance of wilderness and the vanishing of the native race. Lending authority and urgency to the plight of western flora and fauna, William Hornaday wrote two treatises on the deterioration of wildlife and the urgency of conservation initiatives. In *The Extermination of the American Bison* (1887) and *Our Vanishing Wildlife: Its Extermination and Preservation* (1913), Hornaday bemoans the deterioration of animal populations ostensibly symbolic of the nation's defining adventures on the great western landscape. At times effacing the presence of indigenous peoples prior to and during colonial contact, Hornaday nostalgically mythologizes the nation's origins as an encounter with nature's superabundance.[18] In this vein, he remarks: "when the American people received this land from the bountiful hand of nature, it was endowed with a magnificent and all-pervading supply of valuable wild creatures" (*Our Vanishing Wildlife* 1). Overwriting the violent expropriation of the continent from its indigenous inhabitants with a wistful narrative regarding the seemingly destined gift to the "American people" granted by the "hand of nature," Hornaday proceeds to grieve the destruction of the environment while, at the same time, issuing a call "of duty toward the remnant of wildlife" by conserving America's ostensibly rightful inheritance (397).

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[17] While Turner's frontier thesis is arguably the most well known discussion of the disappearing frontier, Bill Brown argues (as other scholars have) that the narrative of "the West's actual disappearance, the waning of its essential difference" "was hardly news" by the late 1800s (Brown 3). Such discourses may be traced in James Fenimore Coopers' *Leatherstocking Tales* (1823-1841), George Catlin's *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (1859), and many other texts published prior to 1890 (Brown 3). For further examples of the precursors of this discourse, see chapter 14 of Brian Dippie's *The Vanishing American*.

While taxidermists and sportsmen like Hornaday bemoaned the decline of animal populations in what he termed "the late lamented Wild West" (qtd. in Simpson "Powers of Liveness" 9), anthropologists in Canada and the United States similarly mourned what they believed was the pending extinction of native peoples. As Brian Dippie has demonstrated in his book *The Vanishing American*, these two narratives of wildlife and aboriginal disappearance became interwoven in ways that mutually reinforced each other and served to strengthen the strategic conflation of the categories of "animals" and "aboriginals" as related species. As Dippie also notes, while such narratives of vanishing lamented the loss of so-called wildness, they also inculcated fervor for various "rescue" attempts. Accordingly, the "need for immediate preservationist measures applied as much to the aboriginal cultures as to the forests and wild game. It was the recognition of this fact [...] that linked the conservation movement and anthropological studies at the end of the nineteenth century" (Dippie 228). The crucial difference between these two movements, however, was that while conservationists aimed to preserve living animals (albeit with complex motives and methods), anthropologists of the period sought not to aid living indigenous peoples but, rather, to document and preserve the remnants of native cultural traditions in the form of fieldnotes and artifacts before aboriginal bodies met a supposedly inevitable demise.

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[18] In *The Extermination of the American Bison*, Hornaday suggests that the wanton slaughter of buffalo can largely be attributed to "Indians and half-breeds" (527). In this context, Hornaday comments: "If ever thoughtless people were punished for their reckless improvidence, the Indians and half-breeds of the Northwest Territory are now paying the penalty for the wasteful slaughter of the buffalo a few short years ago. The buffalo is his own avenger, to an extent his remorseless slayers little dreamed he ever could be" (527). Here, Hornaday acknowledges the existence of aboriginal peoples in his contemporary era while condemning them to pending extinction. In his later study of *Our Vanishing Wildlife*, Hornaday seems to accord responsibility for the decline of animal populations not only to "Indian" groups but also to indiscriminate sportsmen supposedly unworthy of the title and to the broader American people as well (397).

Implicit in my critique of these inter-related narratives of vanishing is one of the most important aspects of the semiotics of taxidermy that I will investigate throughout the following chapters: namely, the overlapping between the signs of "nature" and "natives" in colonial, neocolonial, and racial discourses. Despite this recognition in the world of "theory," troubling reinscriptions of these affiliations between animals and aboriginals in North American society (as at least one example) persist into the current era in stores such as "Indianica," in tourist advertisements for western Canadian regions, in natural history museums and museums of civilization, and across many other social texts.[19] In response, this dissertation seeks to interrupt such ongoing discursive conflations by deploying the trope of "taxidermy" as a defamiliarizing heuristic that underscores—in blatant and discomforting terms—how colonial and neocolonial discourses attempt to naturalize linkages between animal and racialized human bodies in profoundly "unnatural" ways. My critique of the semiotics of taxidermy, therefore, is fueled by an anti-racist and anti-colonialist commitment to destabilizing colonial and racial discursive systems by underscoring their intense manipulation of the signs of "nature" and "natives" for malevolent political and ideological purposes. The inherent risk in this project, however, is that in the very process of attempting to defamiliarize the colonialist affiliations between taxidermy, "animality," and "aboriginality," such an investigation might unwittingly reinforce or fetishize these associations. Moreover, critical scholarship that seeks to analyze the discursive paradigms of colonialism, anthropology, museology, and archival reconstruction must acknowledge how it is implicated within the broader network of institutions which it aims to critique. As a result, I seek to continually interrogate how the terms of academic discourse—and the terms of this dissertation in particular—might be co-opted by the hegemonic power structures under examination. A crucial way to begin such processes of self-reflexivity is to recognize the particular affiliations that academic workers forge with power. A related step is to continually acknowledge the ways that (relatively) new critical practices such as that of cultural studies (a practice in which this dissertation participates) might lose their political efficacy if they become caught up in the fantasy of stepping "outside" of ideology, of assuming a position in which the problematics of other academic disciplines seem far away.

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[19] For a compelling example of Tourism Canada advertisements that appropriate ethereal, exoticized images of First Peoples, see Daniel Francis' *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (187-188).

Last but not least, one additional concept put in play by the semiotics of taxidermy is that of reconstruction—of rebuilding or restoring something to a second life. Moving far beyond a literal understanding of taxidermic reconstruction—namely, the violent manipulation of a dead animal corpse in the service of illusory reincarnation—I want to re-deploy this concept to defamiliarize and to problematize other, more metaphorical forms of reconstructive work. In particular, this dissertation will consider how the concept of reconstruction may be at stake in certain anthropological projects that seek to imaginatively resuscitate the ostensibly extinct traditions of native cultures. In turn, I will also examine how reconstruction has become reinvented in academic practices over the past few decades with the archival restoration and recontextualization of colonial texts.[20] As a result, the trope of reconstruction has developed "positive" connotations as part of a discourse regarding the so-called *post*colonial recovery and remembrance of colonial history. While I do not want to denounce the political possibilities of remembering—and, thus, refusing to forget—colonial violence, I remain cautious of the ways that current academic practices of reconstruction seek to recontextualize the history of colonialism and its injustices within the framework of "history" itself, the framework of "pastness." In so doing, such scholarly discourses hold the dangerous potential to inscribe a new teleology of *post*colonial progress that effectively dissimulates the ongoing recirculations of colonialist ideology in our contemporary moment. By re-assessing the trope of reconstruction in relation to the semiotics of taxidermy, therefore, I seek to underscore the forms of manipulation and violence often at work in the process of "restoring to life."

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[20] As will be explained in more detail later in this introduction, the second and third chapters of this dissertation investigate the recent archival reconstruction of two early twentieth-century ethnographic films. My thanks to the anonymous reader at *English Studies in Canada* who drew my attention to other fraught academic practices of reconstruction, most notably the 2002 re-collection and recirculation of aboriginal oral narratives (entitled *Indian Myths and Legends from the North Pacific Coast of America*) first collected by Franz Boas in 1895. In the "Acknowledgements" at the beginning of the book, ethnographers Randy Bouchard and Dorothy Kennedy happily re-cite the comments of an anonymous reviewer who comments: "the publication of *Indian Myths and Legends* is almost equivalent to the discovery of a group of hundred and fifty-year-olds from these Native groups, all in full possession of their faculties and anxious to share their knowledge with anthropologists" (17). The description of Bouchard's and Kennedy's text as a kind of archival "discovery" suggests that these anthropologists have effectively recovered and preserved ostensibly vanishing "Indian Myths and Legends"—vanishing "Indian" culture, in short—in newly reconstructed form.

Taxidermy's Constellations

The following chapters of this dissertation constitute distinct and yet inter-related case studies in the recirculation of the semiotics of taxidermy in North American society from the turn of the twentieth century to the present. Although taxidermic practices were previously alive and kicking, I have chosen the decades around 1900 as the time of departure for my study because this period marks the heyday of taxidermic innovation, the rise of the conservation movement, and the development of extensive specimen collections in the United States and Canada. While the second, third, and fourth case studies do chart certain changes in the semiotics of taxidermy over time, the crucial linkages articulated within and between chapters defy a strictly linear or chronological reading; rather, they hinge upon movements back and forth in time. In this context, articulations between this dissertation's specific sites of inquiry may be helpfully conceptualized in terms of the dynamic work of constellation.

In "Theses on the Philosophy of History," Walter Benjamin theorizes the concept of "constellation" as a way of reconsidering the status of history. Engaging in a critique of historical master narratives, Benjamin asserts that "the concept of the historical progress of mankind cannot be sundered from the concept of its progression through a homogeneous, empty time. A critique of the concept of such a progression must be the basis of any criticism of the concept of progress itself" (261). While Benjamin frequently refers to this problematic teleology as "universal history," such a conception of the "progress of mankind" is by no means universal; rather, it is a Eurocentric construction that blocks "civilization's" others out of its hegemonic narrative and, thus, consigns them to the space of the past. It is important to further politicize Benjamin's critique with this recognition while acknowledging the contributions of his own analysis for interrogating teleologies of progress.

Continuing his argument, Benjamin asserts that "[u]niversal history has no theoretical armature; its method is additive. It musters a mass of data to fill in the homogeneous empty time" ("Theses" 262). Following this negative critique of conventional historicism, Benjamin posits an alternative method for understanding history—one that he terms historical materialism. In this vein, he contends: "[h]istory is the subject of a structure whose site is not homogeneous empty time, but time filled by the presence of the now" ("Theses" 261). The "theoretical armature" of the historical materialist hinges upon rupturing the "homogeneous" continuum of history by "wrest[ing] tradition away from a conformism that is about to overpower it" ("Theses" 255). To do so, Benjamin proposes that the historical materialist must "brush history against the grain" and "grasp the constellation which his [or her] own era has formed with a definite earlier one" ("Theses" 257, 263). Accordingly, Benjamin's concept of constellation concerns the articulation—the simultaneous separating and joining—of different historical moments to consider how they inform each other without interpreting such linkages in terms of linear movements or "additive" developments. The concept of constellation therefore holds the potential to challenge master narratives of progress by articulating moments of the past with the "time of the now" in ways that might powerfully demonstrate how historical crises and their effects have not been "resolved" over time but, rather, persist (sometimes in familiar and sometimes in new forms) in the present.

Discussing the investments at stake in teleologies of progress, Benjamin further observes: "our image of happiness is indissolubly bound up with the image of redemption" ("Theses" 254). Despite his tendency to frame social crises in Messianic terms, Benjamin's reference to the concept of "redemption" is an astute one that has become particularly salient in our current era. One of the crucial threads that I will trace throughout the following chapters is the way discourses of postcolonial redress and resolution have become crucial to new narratives of progress concerned with the "redemption" of European and Euro-North American societies from their colonial and imperial "pasts." I will investigate this problematic in the particular context of Euro-North American colonial and imperial ideology and practices vis-à-vis indigenous peoples. Specifically, I will suggest that struggles for postcolonial redress often become co-opted by dominant discourses as signs of closure that attempt to relegate ongoing injustices to the realm of history. In so doing, Euro-North American societies claim their redemption while overwriting the ways that neocolonial power asymmetries and racial discrimination persist in the present. Following Benjamin's formulation for an alternative form of historicism, then, the case studies in this dissertation will seek to brush such teleologies "against the grain" and, in the process, "grasp the constellations" that particular moments from North America's colonialist and imperialist past form with our "time of the now" ("Theses" 257, 263).

Articulating the following case studies in terms of the Benjaminian constellation enables a kind of analytic plasticity, a movement across space and time, that marks compelling points of intersection between multiple texts, contexts, and debates. In addition, Benjamin's work offers suggestive materialist strategies that I want to reactivate throughout this dissertation. Specifically, his essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" constitutes a persuasive critical example for analyzing the distinct socio-cultural impact of film in early twentieth-century European and Euro-American society. Here, Benjamin draws attention to the material manipulation of film stock in the editing and production of movies. In contrast to the current euphemism of "editing," Benjamin refers to "cutting" as the physical practice by which time and space are manipulated and re-sutured together to create filmic illusions (233). On a broader level, this historically specific analysis of film links the particular capabilities of this technology of representation—namely, the production of "close-up" and "slow motion" effects, to name a few—to its sociological and political impact upon popular consciousness and the critical faculties of the masses. In this context, Benjamin's essay compellingly investigates the material ways that film manipulated its subject matter and, in the process, influenced public perception in the first half of the twentieth century.

In a methodologically similar way, John Tagg's *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* analyzes photography in relation to the specific conditions of its emergence and early uses in Britain. Throughout this study, Tagg meditates explicitly on his methodology, arguing that the photograph must be considered simultaneously as a material object and an ideological practice. In this vein, he asserts:

> Photography as such has no identity. Its status as a technology varies with the power relations which invest it. Its nature as a practice depends on the institutions and agents which define it and set it to work. Its function as a mode of cultural production is tied to definite conditions of existence, and its products are meaningful and legible only within the particular currencies they have. (63)

The methodological premises offered by Tagg's study hold broader implications for materialist critiques of a variety of technologies of representation. Re-applying these insights to my dissertation, I want to suggest that "photography," "film," or "museological installations" do not have a given or fixed ontology; rather, their uses and effects are contingent upon specific material circumstances. Accordingly, I do not want to suggest that installation space, ethnographic cinema, media reportage, and other technologies are always already taxidermic. Instead, particular institutions and agents at distinct moments have deployed these technologies to reinscribe the semiotics of taxidermy in pernicious ways. Here, Benjamin's theory of "constellation" operates as a conceptual hinge that articulates—both linking and separating—particular institutional and agential uses of various technologies without subsuming them within a fixed ontological paradigm.

Complicating Tagg's important methodological insights, I want to suggest that while taxidermy may be analyzed as a technology of representation deployed by specific institutions and/or agents in particular historical and material contexts, it can also, at the same time, be read as a broader conceptual system that may be used to elucidate the political stakes of a variety of distinct representational processes. Accordingly, throughout this dissertation taxidermy occupies a doubled status: it is analyzed as both a specific technology of representation (the literal stuffing of animal bodies) and as a semiotic system that functions as an heuristic superordinate for critiquing the effects of other social texts. Re-reading particular films, photographs, museum installations, and other texts as forms of taxidermic semiosis works to defamiliarize our usual sense of their material and ideological significance while, at the same time, foregrounding the often visceral powers of their practice. While the case studies in this dissertation could have been organized according to a more abstract overarching rubric such as "the semiotics of stilled life" or "the semiotics of vanishing," the very level of abstraction of these superordinates would have significantly constrained this project's crucial critique of the material and visceral forms of violence effected by many representational technologies.

In the chapters that follow, I begin the constellation of case studies with a consideration of taxidermy in its most literal form: namely, the practice of representing animal corpses in the guise of life. Then, I move to more associative examples that demonstrate how taxidermy's semiotics are reconfigured across a variety of social texts. In so doing, I seek to extend the defamiliarizing potential of this project: while, in our current era, taxidermy is tacitly understood as a mode of representation that hinges upon the willful manipulation of its object matter, other representational forms such as photography, documentary film, and media reportage are still often considered "truthful," "accurate," and transparent displays of "reality." By first underscoring the material violence of taxidermy in its literal form and then demonstrating how its semiotics are reconfigured by multiple technologies of representation, I seek to foreground the violent forms of manipulation at stake in such representational techniques. For example, ethnographic films that present themselves as "documentaries" or museum installations that purport to speak "truth" in depicting the history of colonialism often bend and contort their object matter in pernicious ways. By constellating distinct and yet inter-related forms of taxidermic manipulation operative in particular photographs, films, museum installations, and media reports, I seek to defamiliarize these texts and, thus, elicit a shock of recognition regarding the epistemic and material violence at stake in their production and recirculation.[21]

Meditating further on the project of historical materialism, Benjamin remarks: "To articulate the past historically does not mean to recognize it 'the way it really was' (Ranke). It means to seize hold of a memory as it flashes up at a moment of danger" ("Theses" 255). "For," he contends, "every image of the past that is not recognized by the present as one of its own concerns threatens to disappear irretrievably" ("Theses" 255). By tracing the reinscriptions of the semiotics of taxidermy from the early twentieth century into our current era, this dissertation seeks to recognize the "image[s] of the past" as integral to the present's "own concerns." More specifically, in analyzing the recirculation of taxidermy's semiotics in relation to postcolonial discourses today, I hope to destabilize beliefs in historical progress and to interrogate the way postcolonialism has engendered its own normalized systems of thought regarding aboriginal peoples and the politics of redress. In this context, my dissertation will demonstrate how new narratives of supposedly *post*colonial reconciliation or progress render our now-time a "moment of danger" in need of ongoing reconsideration of the constellations the present tense forms with moments from the past.

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[21] The shock of recognition that I seek to produce via the use of the semiotics of taxidermy as a defamiliarizing heuristic will necessarily resonate in different ways for different readers. As a Euro-Canadian female subject working within the university system, I recognize that what I perceive as needing to be defamiliarized—to be made strange to mainstream eurocentric culture in North America—may already seem quite apparent to other readers living and working within different social and cultural milieus. In this sense, I do not want my use of "taxidermy" as a defamiliarizing strategy to prescribe certain modes of reading and engagement for the (hopefully) heterogeneous field of readers that this dissertation might reach. At the same time, however, my investigation of the particular social texts discussed throughout this dissertation has persuaded me that it is important to theorize how such texts might interpellate readers, spectators, and listeners from dominant Euro-Canadian and Euro-American backgrounds in ways that reinforce colonial ideology and its nostalgic narratives of white settlement, nation-making, and historical progress. With all these factors in mind, I recognize that the primary audience for this dissertation is composed of academic readers—many who may be trained in the eurocentric institutions of North American universities, but who may or may not be committed to critically re-thinking the dominant epistemological legacies of such institutions. While acknowledging such institutional realities, I also hold out hope that this project might find its way to other audiences who might be able to approach and challenge this work from alternative perspectives.

Tracking the Taxidermic: Case Studies

As previously mentioned, the four case studies examined in this dissertation are geographically situated in relation to the North American northwest. In terms of geographical parameters, I understand this category to cross and simultaneously mark national borders, to stretch up toward the Northwest Territories and out to Alaska, and to extend eastward into Alberta and Montana below it. Rather than attempting to definitively fix the parameters of the North American northwest, I have theorized this territorial category in deliberately arbitrary and malleable terms as a way of signalling how the imagined and real spaces of the frontier have shape-shifted over the last hundred years in the wake of varying colonial and imperial strategies of annexation, settlement, development, and exploitation. Both as a geographical region and as an imaginative concept, the category of the North American northwest is ideologically significant precisely because it invokes an intricate network of colonial mythologies articulated around the tropes of the Great North, the wild west, and the frontier. Throughout this dissertation, I intend to both summon these mythologies and demystify their ideological implications by analyzing how the tropics of the receding frontier persistently reinscribe discourses of time-warping, extinction, and the vanishing natural world that are so integral to the semiotics of taxidermy.

At the same time that this dissertation invokes the overdetermined locational paradigm of the North American northwest, it simultaneously attends to the geographic and temporal specificities that contour each of its case studies. By negotiating this productive tension between overarching and particular contexts, I seek to resist an all too easy correlation between the precise delimitation of an intensely localized site of inquiry and the promises of accuracy or "authenticity." While attention to the specificities of place may enable nuanced critique, the privileging of such particularity holds the dangerous potential to reinstall essentialized linkages between place and identity that may overwrite critical attentiveness to differences of age, sex, class, and ethnicity. As Rosalind Morris argues, the prioritization of locational specificity as a "ground" for analysis has the potential to become a colonizing strategy that maps "social groups onto a landscape whose contours provide the limits of identity and difference"—a strategy that underpins such imperialist practices as the "culture area" approach of Boasian anthropology (20). Working between the local and the overarching rubric of the North American northwest, therefore, this dissertation will attend to site-specificity while also investigating the ways that particular spaces and places both respond to and are contoured by the tropes of the wild west and the disappearing frontier as well as the white mythologies they perpetuate.

Beginning at one of the iconic sites of the last, best west—namely, the Rocky Mountains—chapter one investigates taxidermy in the literalized form of animal specimens displayed in museum space. In particular, this case study analyzes the Banff Park Museum (BPM), "western Canada's oldest museum of natural history" and the storehouse for a collection of roughly 5000 taxidermically-preserved specimens ("Banff Park Museum" 3). Designated as a National Historic Site of Canada in the 1980s, the BPM switched from being an active museological institution to a self-declared "museum of a museum": a time capsule that purportedly preserves the building and its displays as they stood circa 1914 ("Banff Park Museum" 2). In so doing, the museum constructs a fantasy of time-travel back to the heyday of western expansion and nation-making. Displaying early twentieth-century taxidermic specimens alongside narratives of the Euro-Canadian patriarchs who collected them for national posterity, the installation romanticizes white male supremacy during the early days of development in the west. In this context, the display deploys a rhetoric of nostalgia for the era of colonial control over frontier wildness and, specifically, the regulation of both animal and aboriginal populations via the formation of Canada's first national park. Such nostalgia, I argue, overwrites the history of colonial violence in Canada with a white supremacist mythology regarding the heroic civilization of the frontier.

An examination of the Banff Park Museum facilitates several heuristic strategies integral to my critique of the semiotics of taxidermy. Firstly, the BPM provides an excellent point of entry for outlining the historically and locationally specific network of colonial, racial, and environmental discourses that contour taxidermy's meanings in twentieth-century North American society. Moreover, by analyzing the distinct temporal manipulations at stake in the BPM's self-representation as a "museum of a museum," this case study prompts interrogation of how turn-of-the-century discourses regarding "nature" and "natives" are recirculated and revivified in our current era even as the museum assuages its culpability by purporting to merely preserve—rather than perpetuate—the so-called attitudes of the past. In this way, chapter one demonstrates the continued political salience of investigating not only taxidermy's heyday in the early 1900s, but also how its semiotics are reconfigured to pernicious effect in the present. Lastly, while a consideration of taxidermy in the BPM provides a conventional reference point for thinking about taxidermic specimens and their material conditions of display, this site of inquiry also begins to demonstrate how the semiotics of taxidermy are not solely reducible to the literal figures of stuffed animal corpses. For, as my critique of the BPM reveals, the museum re-fashions itself as a kind of taxidermic structure—an ostensibly frozen monument to the past—in order to strategically reincarnate colonial discourse as a romanticized narrative of wild west adventure.

In chapter two, I begin the process of considering the semiotics of taxidermy in more associative terms by studying the turn-of-the-century photography and film work of Edward Sheriff Curtis. This chapter negotiates a shift from taxidermy's literalized relation to the "ethnographic animal" and toward a consideration of disturbingly taxidermic representations of the "ethnographic Indian." Here, the taxidermic animal recedes into the background and becomes a residual trace that haunts the figure of the aboriginal, who in turn becomes the primary "object" of preservation and display. In this vein, the work of Edward Curtis shifts focus from the wildlife conservation movement to the preoccupations of anthropology's "rescue" mission to preserve the fragments of a culture supposedly on the brink of extinction. During the 1890s, the Seattle-based photographer began travelling across the continent, fueled with a sense of urgency to capture—via the freeze-frame of the photograph—the images of those "Indian" groups he thought still retained the semblance of their pre-contact culture. From here, the imperative to "document" what Curtis and many other academic and pseudo-ethnologists termed "the vanishing race" spiralled into a monumental project known as *The North American Indian*—a twenty volume compendium of photographs and encyclopedic notes that sought to classify and record the remnants of so-called traditional indigenous lifeways.

From these photographic beginnings, Curtis moved on to film, producing in 1914 the first narrative documentary, *In the Land of the Headhunters*.[22] Filmed at the northern tip of Vancouver Island amongst a group of indigenous peoples reductively categorized by ethnographers under the name "Kwakiutl," Curtis sought to deploy the camera as a device for travelling back in time and reincarnating a Euro-North American fantasy of pre-contact savagery. In this sense, *Headhunters* reinscribes the semiotics of taxidermy by constructing a racist fantasy of "primitive" origins that freeze-frames aboriginals as specimens of the past, dead in the present. While a close reading of *In the Land of the Headhunters* constitutes the culmination of my analysis, the chapter investigates how Curtis' photography and film both encode the semiotics of taxidermy. In this context, chapter two initiates a strategically counterintuitive move by demonstrating how, although Curtis' photography preserves "traditional Indianness" in a literal freeze-frame, Curtis' documentary inscribes complex forms of fixity and stasis upon native bodies under the guise of filmic motion. As a result, chapter two attends to the distinct and yet related ways that Curtis' photography and his film deploy what I theorize as "stasis effects" to fix aboriginal peoples according to colonial stereotypes of otherness.

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[22] Although Robert Flaherty's 1922 film *Nanook of the North* is commonly hailed as the first narrative documentary, the lesser known film produced by Curtis in 1914 pre-dates Flaherty's text by eight years. Moreover, Flaherty viewed Curtis' film and visited with him in 1915—a meeting that substantially influenced his later work (Gidley 232).

Continuing a study of the semiotics of taxidermy and ethnographic cinema, chapter three analyzes Marius Barbeau's 1928 *Nass River Indians*, a so-called documentary about the Nisga'a in northern British Columbia. In contrast to Curtis' attempt to travel back in time to a "primitive" world unmarked by Western culture, *Nass River Indians* depicts the purported deterioration of aboriginal cultures in early twentieth-century Canada by foregrounding Barbeau, an ethnologist with the National Museum, at work amongst a supposedly vanishing race. In this context, the film stages the anthropological fieldworker in action on the receding frontier, engaged in the urgent project of "rescuing" aboriginal artifacts as remnants of a disappearing culture. Similar to the way that taxidermy's logic of preservation hinges upon killing and embalming its specimens, the logic of anthropological salvage encoded in Barbeau's film marks the sign of death upon the indigenous lifeways it claims to preserve.

In addition to staging a temporal setting significantly different from the pre-contact era constructed by Curtis and many other early ethnographic filmmakers, *Nass River Indians* also prompts consideration of taxidermy's multiple forms of semiotic coding. Specifically, Barbeau's documentary demonstrates how the semiotics of taxidermy cannot be theorized solely in terms of visual or temporal codes; rather, it also involves aural or sound codes, even in silent films. While *Nass River Indians* deploys the medium of silent film to depict the fieldworker in action, the plot foregrounds Barbeau's use of the phonograph to record and preserve Nisga'a songs. Accordingly, the documentary hinges upon a tacit technological contest between filmic and phonographic modes of preservation that has important political implications. In this vein, *Nass River Indians* provokes the following questions: what is at stake in recording the preservation of songs on silent film? How does the sound of silence in *Nass River Indians* work to encode the semiotics of taxidermy? By addressing these queries, chapter three consequently works in a distinct way to understand the sometimes contestatory, sometimes mutually productive workings of audio and visual technologies in the recirculation of taxidermy's sign system.

Although the second and third chapters work in conjunction to analyze how the semiotics of taxidermy are translated into early ethnographic cinema, each case study offers distinct insights. As a result, my intent is not to frame ethnographic cinema as the principal *modus operandi* for the semiotics of taxidermy or to accord it a privileged status in this dissertation. Instead, I want to recognize the importance of cinema in redefining popular consciousness in the twentieth century (as Benjamin and many others have already argued) and accordingly investigate the transmogrifications of taxidermy's semiotics into this medium. Moreover, I have focused upon Curtis' and Barbeau's films for pragmatic heuristic reasons: these two texts provide excellent analytic material for elucidating key aspects of the semiotics of taxidermy, including their temporal manipulations, affective registers, visual and aural codes, and stasis and mobility effects. As well, the documentaries' often not-so-subtle racist viewpoints lend themselves to a compelling critique of the pernicious political implications of taxidermic modes of representation. These films accordingly constitute powerful "teaching tools" for tracking important elements of taxidermy's semiotic machinations.

Yet another significant trajectory of my study of Curtis' *In the Land of the Headhunters* and Barbeau's *Nass River Indians* involves an interrogation of recent discourses of archival reconstruction. Interestingly, both texts were once categorized as "lost" celluloid fragments of North American "prehistory" which, in turn, were reconstructed by Euro-North American academics at major universities—Curtis' film in the 1970s, Barbeau's in 2001. Comparative analysis of the original and restored versions of these two films offers an important point of entry for examining the related and yet distinct discourses that contoured these restoration processes. While the 1970s restoration of *Headhunters* attempts to enhance the sober authority and "authenticity" of Curtis' originally melodramatic film, the 2001 reconstruction of *Nass River Indians* seeks to recontextualize the film's celebration of anthropological "rescue" by framing this narrative in relation to the history of colonialism in Canada. Though both reconstructed films in their own ways purport to do greater justice to the subject matter than the original versions, these restored documentaries effectively reinscribe key tenets of colonial ideology. A comparison of the Curtis and Barbeau restorations demonstrates key changes in discourses of archival reconstruction over the last thirty years. In particular, it highlights how the emergence of postcolonial theory and its use in the recontextualization of *Nass River Indians* may actually dissimulate the ongoing power disparities involved in the restoration of colonial texts by dominant state apparatuses. Chapters two and three, therefore, are not solely about ethnographic filmmaking in the early 1900s; similar to the Banff Park Museum analysis, these subsequent chapters move back and forth in time, constellating moments of the past with ongoing debates in the new millennium.

The final chapter of this dissertation investigates the possibilities and limits of repatriation debates as they concern the potential taxidermic fetishization of "lost" and "recovered" human remains. As a point of entry, I engage in a critique of mainstream media and provincial government press releases regarding the retrieval, study, and eventual reburial of a 550 year old aboriginal body—preserved in a glacier, frozen with its skin on—discovered in the Champagne and Aishihik First Nation's (CAFN) traditional territory in northern British Columbia in 1999. Coveted by science as the oldest soft tissue remains of pre-contact aboriginal life ever found in North America, press reports frame these remains, named "Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi" by the CAFN, as a proverbial body of evidence—a kind of taxidermic specimen—that holds the secrets of native "pre-history" in its frozen form. Hailing the discovery as a remarkable opportunity for science, media reportage claims that the frozen corpse may enable the anthropological reconstruction of "ancient" lifeways and the genetic profile of indigeneity prior to colonization. At stake in such representations, I contend, is the fetishistic desire to reconstruct ostensibly lost aboriginal purity, a desire reminiscent of the preoccupations that fueled early ethnographic cinema. Throughout this chapter, I seek to constellate this repatriation case of the present tense with the work of ethnographic salvage from the turn-of-the-century period. In so doing, I will mark the points of affiliation and divergence between these discourses with a view toward demonstrating how colonial ideology and racist preoccupations persist in our current era. Moreover, I will consider how the semiotics of taxidermy may be useful for defamiliarizing the reinscription of racial categories within the new domain of genomics and the perpetuation of neocolonial discrimination on new biopolitical terrain.

Charting the contours of colonial and neocolonial politics in North American society from the late 1900s up to the current moment involves careful consideration of the heterogeneous and perpetually shape-shifting network of actors and interests involved. In several of the following chapters, I negotiate correspondence with employees of dominant institutions such as the National Archives of Canada and several provincial and national museums (i.e. the Royal British Columbia Museum, the Canadian Museum of Civilization, *et al*). At the same time, I seek to rupture the discursive monopoly of hegemonic institutions by also contacting First Nations agencies such as the Nisga'a Lisims and the Champagne and Aishihik governments. My attempts in doing so have engendered many important considerations that inform this dissertation. Specifically, the frequent failure of my efforts to receive responses from Nisga'a Lisims or CAFN members has prompted an acute recognition of the fact that I, as a Euro-Canadian doctoral candidate at a major public university, am part of the dominant systems that I seek to critique and that I may justifiably be perceived that way by aboriginal peoples and institutions. Secondly, although it is important to trace the differences between the discourses of dominant and First Nations institutions, such a critical task can easily lapse into a desire to give voice to minority groups—a desire that is often freighted with paternalistic benevolence or an anthropological quest for native informancy. In other circumstances, such as my investigation of the initial production of Curtis' photographs and films, questions of agency also arise with regard to the aboriginal subjects who participated in the making of these images. Here, there is no organized institution to contact and the documents that remain provide very little indication of how these people construed their involvement and its constraints and possibilities.

Due to the sobering fact that dominant discourses are often the primary materials available for interrogation, therefore, I have attempted whenever possible to locate moments of rupture in these discourses and to remain attentive to potential resistances. In this sense, my analysis of prevailing discourses is influenced by aspects of colonial discourse theory, particularly as Ania Loomba conceptualizes it. Implicitly responding to critiques of colonial discourse analysis (and, specifically, Homi Bhabha's conceptualization of it) as a predominantly literary or "textual" (and, thus, the argument goes, de-materialized) critical practice, Loomba remarks: "[i]t is useful [...] to remind ourselves that discourse is not simply another word for representation. Rather, discourse analysis involves examining the social and historical conditions within which specific representations are generated. The study of colonial discourse ought to lead us toward a fuller understanding of colonial institutions rather than direct us away from them" (97). Later in her discussion, Loomba elaborates upon the ways that colonial discourse analysis explores the intimate connections between diverse practices, commenting that "[t]he linkage between photographic images, ethnographic and quasi-scientific data gathering, census taking and colonial policy underlines the intricate, subtle, and even contradictory, connections between colonial representations, institutions, and policies" (99). It is precisely such linkages that I seek to investigate throughout this dissertation with a view toward gaining "a fuller understanding of colonial institutions" and the diverse ways they work to stereotype and subjugate aboriginal others in Canada and the United States.

Whatever their limitations and problematics, my dissertation also recognizes that dominant texts and discourses cannot be dismissed as monolithic, as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe have demonstrated so compellingly in *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*. Rather, these materials are nuanced, complex, and shaped by multiple articulated institutions. Re-deploying Laclau and Mouffe's theorization of hegemonic discursive formations for the purposes of my inquiry, I want to underscore that my analysis of neocolonial power asymmetries in twentieth-century North American society up to the present are not reducible to a binaric, polarized model of conflict between dominant institutions versus aboriginal peoples. Rather, this dissertation analyzes the complex and multi-nodal articulations of hegemonic discursive formations that involve a diverse array of actors and institutions held in tension via their points of affiliation and spaces of divergence. In this vein, institutions such as the National Archives, the Royal B.C. Museum, the Burke Museum of Natural History in Seattle, or major Canadian universities—although often articulated in a cooperative network with shared interests—cannot be reductively considered as one homogeneous entity always motivated by the same stakes. As well, First Nations organizations such as the Nisga'a Lisims and Champagne and Aishihik governments cannot be collapsed into one unit, nor can these institutions be conflated with the voice of "the people" or be said to represent the views of all their members. Despite the power imbalances and the often radically divergent agendas of dominant neocolonial and First Nations institutions, an analysis of how these organizations are articulated within a hegemonic discursive formation must remain attentive to the sometimes surprising ways that interests might converge and link these groups together in tenuous and yet compelling circumstances. Recognition of the complexity and heterogeneity of actors and institutions in negotiation on the colonial and neocolonial terrain of North America during the past hundred years therefore is key to the investigations that fuel this dissertation. Rather than weakening a critique of colonial culpability and ongoing exploitation, such an analytic strategy traces the fluid machinations of power in order to better understand the resilience of dominant institutions and discourses and, thus, to formulate more effective tactics of resistance.

Collectively, the case studies explored in this dissertation will seek to grapple with the question of what colonialism wants and how its mobilization of the semiotics of taxidermy might be related to fulfilling such desires. In the particular context of North American society, I would suggest that colonialism wants to be able to "indigenize" its settlers—to inculcate a sense of belonging and a relationship to the environment amongst its agents. The semiotics of taxidermy are integrally bound up in this process insofar as they encode white mastery over nature as well as the white acquisition of the knowledge to hunt and to tame frontier wildness. Moreover, colonialism wants to narrate and to naturalize the figure of the "vanishing Indian" as a way of dissimulating colonial violence and legitimating the expropriation of indigenous peoples' territory as part of an inevitable evolutionary fate. Here, the semiotics of taxidermy are also instrumental, as they may be deployed in ways that conflate the signs of "animals" and "aboriginals" to create an interwoven narrative of wildlife decline. During the early twentieth-century, colonialism also sought to justify its expropriation of aboriginal cultural objects as a benevolent form of culture-collecting that developed as a heroic rescue mission to preserve the remnants of fading native lifeways. Today, colonialism is similarly invested in continuing to justify its possession of native cultural objects in national archives and museums. Here again, the semiotics of taxidermy are integral to legitimating cultural expropriation under a logic of so-called preservation, a logic of supposed protection based upon the eurocentric re-categorization of indigenous cultural objects as artifacts. Thus, in these and many other ways, taxidermy's semiotics are integrally linked to the colonial project in North America.

By reading "taxidermy" as both a material practice and a complex semiotic system that brings the codes of colonial and neocolonial discourse to a point of crisis, my dissertation seeks to both theorize and to implement a politicized critical practice that interrogates how the "ideological construction of otherness" is integrally linked to the "political effect of discrimination" (Bhabha 66, 78). Engaging in a constellation of case studies contoured by distinct historical, geographical, and cultural contingencies, I contend, will enable me to track with specificity the discriminatory effects produced by the persistent hegemony of neocolonial discursive formations across the North American northwest. In so doing, I seek to initiate alternative trajectories of investigation for critical race theory, postcolonial studies, and cultural studies by interrogating how the discursive production of otherness hinges upon strategic manipulations of the overdetermined categories of "nature" and "culture," "animal" and "aboriginal," and "life" and "death." By constellating the past with moments of our now-time, I want to underscore that the project of challenging neocolonial power structures is by no means complete and that, in addition to the cultural critique it necessitates, it also demands ongoing interrogation of the persistence of ethnocentrism and racism in "theory" itself.

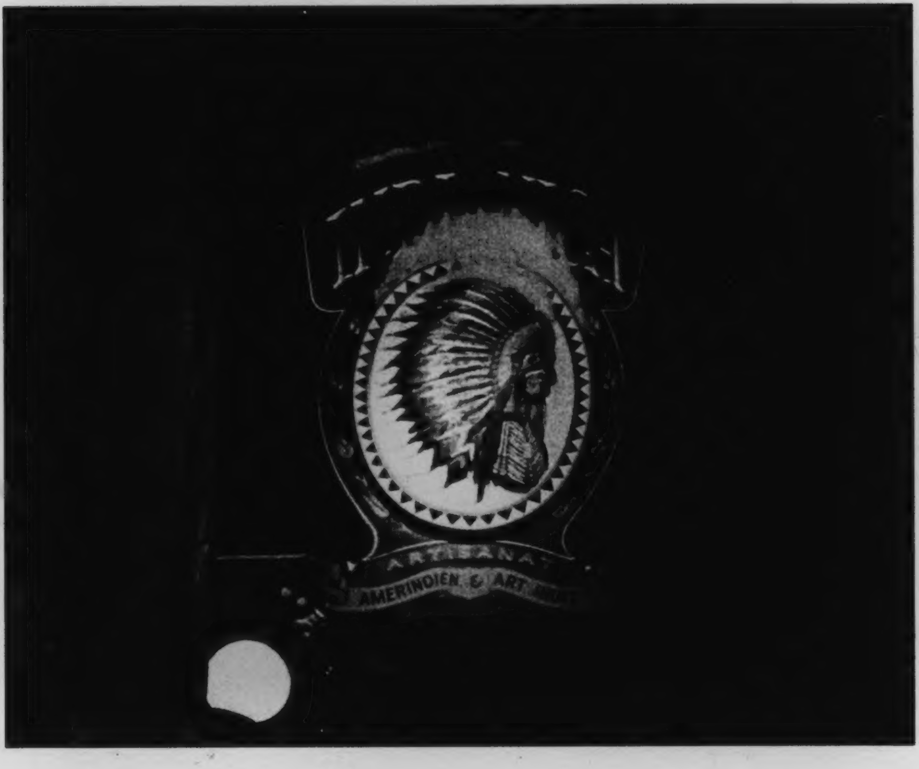
ARTISANAT
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Figure 1: Storefront sign of "Indianica" on Rue St. Paul in the Vieux-Port of Montreal. Figures 1-3 were photographed by Pauline Wakeham.

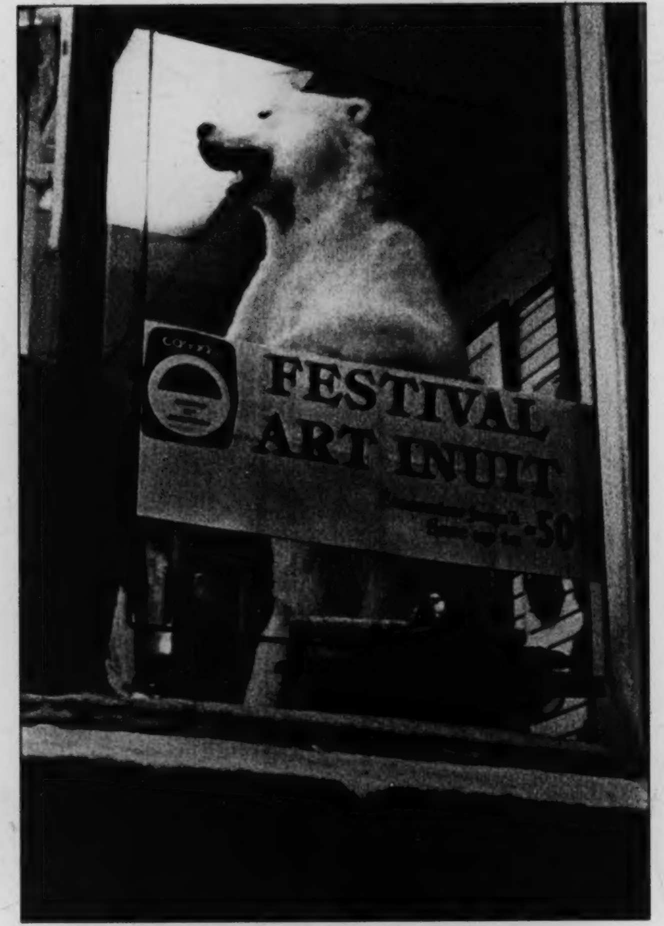
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Figure 2: One of the storefront windows of "Indianica" displaying a taxidermically-preserved polar bear.

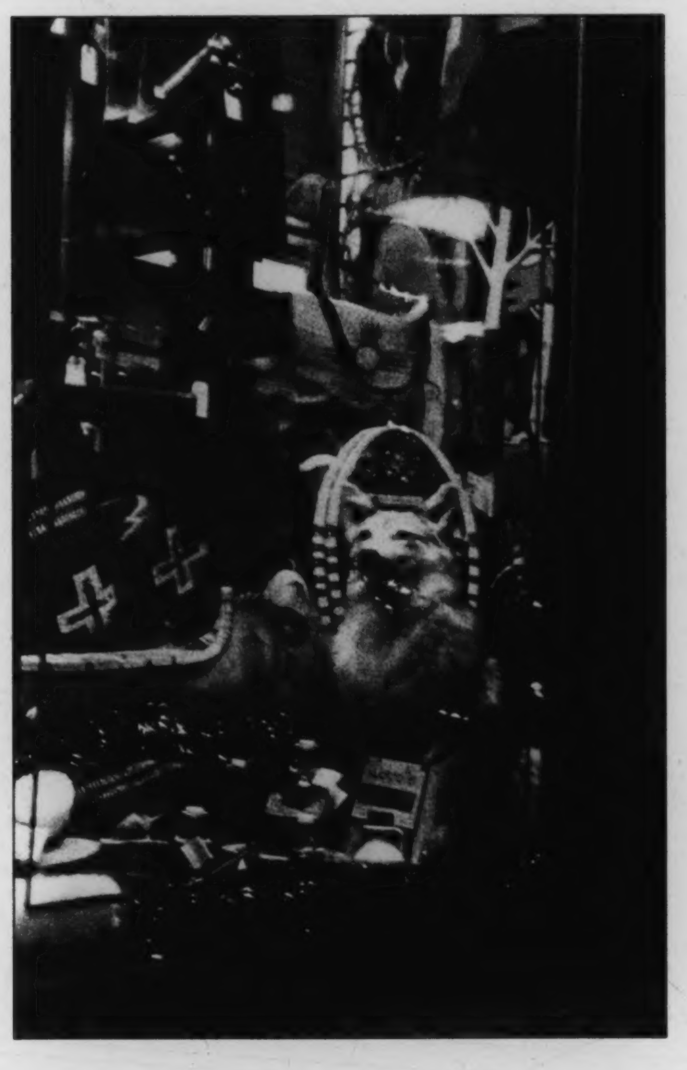

Figure 3: The main windowscape for "Indianica" showcasing a taxidermically-preserved coyote as well as antique guns, snowshoes, a birch bark canoe, and other "memorabilia."

Chapter One

Reading the Banff Park Museum: Time, Affect, and the Production of Frontier Nostalgia

On August 4, 200[illegible], Parks Canada seized the opportunity presented by Alberta's civic "Heritage Day" holiday to stage a re-opening ceremony and a centennial anniversary celebration for the Banff Park Museum National Historic Site. Following a year's closure for extensive repairs necessitated by architectural deterioration, the Banff Park Museum (BPM)—"Western Canada's oldest natural history museum" and storehouse of taxidermy—was reconstructed to rekindle its early twentieth-century glory (*Banff Park Museum* 3). To mark the grand re-opening, Parks Canada enacted a fantasy of time travel back to 1903, decking out its historic site with Canadian and Union Jack flags and an iconic Mountie posted at the main entrance. Accentuating the ceremony's ethos of nostalgia, a brass band played on the front porch while federal and municipal officials arrived in a horse-drawn buggy, or "tally-ho." Inviting the crowd of local residents and tourists to revel in the pageantry of the past reincarnated, Rob Harding, Manager of Heritage Programs in Banff National Park, celebrated the ceremony's intent to "capture the spirit of 1903" as a fitting tribute to a museum that is itself "frozen in time." According to Harding, the Banff Park Museum is historically valuable as "a museum of a museum"—an installation space that preserves, like a time capsule, early twentieth-century attitudes toward natural history in the Canadian northwest.[1] For Parks Canada, then, the BPM is effective as a National Historic Site insofar as it acts as a portal through which visitors can step back in time to Banff's early days as a leisure destination on the rugged frontier [Figures 4 and 5].

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[1] The description of the BPM as "a museum of a museum" used by Mr. Harding in his speech at the re-opening ceremony recurs frequently throughout promotional brochures and booklets regarding the BPM (*Banff Park Museum* 2; Gin 16). The phrase "a museum of a museum" is also used to frame a section of the display on the second floor of the BPM installation, as will be discussed later.

While the Banff Park Museum's fantasy of time travel initially appears to create a sense of historical immediacy—of rendering the past experientially accessible in the present—the museum's display strategy also produces a crucial distancing effect. By framing its collection of taxidermically-preserved animals as monuments to a bygone era, the Banff Park Museum is able to dissimulate its ongoing affiliations with the violence of early twentieth-century practices of specimen collection and preparation. At the same time as the current installation attempts to distance itself from the museum's history of active taxidermy production, however, it manages to re-mythologize the concomitant ideological assumptions that legitimated white mastery over nature and colonial triumph over the "wild" frontier. In this context, the re-opening ceremony's display of RCMP and Union Jack icons was not merely a symptom of nostalgia; rather, it was a powerful reinvocation of the *grand récit* of empire in the wilderness, of colonial law and order subjugating First Nations' territory under the doubled (and contradictory) rubric of civilization and conservation.[2]

Ironically, Parks Canada's conceptualization of the BPM as a time capsule that has frozen and preserved the past is seemingly contradicted by the very *raison d'être* for the museum's re-opening ceremony. As a celebration marking the architectural refurbishing of the building and the repair of aging taxidermic specimens, the ceremony effectively registered the *failures* of museological preservation and the impossibilities of its mandate to, in the words of Donna Haraway, "arrest decay" ("Teddy Bear Patriarchy" 55). I want to foreground this moment of apparent rupture as a point of entry for analyzing how the Banff Park Museum has been reconstructed as a kind of taxidermic structure that, like the zoological specimens it houses, attempts to manipulate time in complex ways. Although taxidermy initially appears to be a freeze-framing technique, my dissertation will seek to complicate this notion and to re-conceptualize taxidermy's frozen guise of life as involving far more than the simple cessation of time. In this vein, the Banff Park Museum constitutes a compelling example of how the semiotics of taxidermy may be encoded to inculcate a fantasy of a frozen past while simultaneously marking the passage of time that produces powerful forms of nostalgia.[3] Similar to the way that taxidermy re-presents dead animals in uncanny poses of "life," the BPM reincarnates the past as though it were alive while also mourning it as a lost era of simplicity, purity, and communion with the nation's wilderness origins. In so doing, this natural history museum fetishizes an era of colonial expansionism on the western frontier and narrativizes the development of Canada's wilderness as part of the inevitable tide of progress.

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[2] According to Eleanor Luxton, daughter of Norman Luxton, some of the most prominent aboriginal groups in the Banff environs during the twentieth century are the Stony, who have a reserve at Morley and one at Eden Valley in the Highwood River area. There is also a Sarsi reserve near Calgary, a Blackfoot reserve at Gleichen (approximately fifty miles east of Calgary), and a Piegan community at Brocket, "east of Pincher Creek on the Crow's Nest Pass railway" (Luxton 22). As well, the "Blood have the largest reserve in Canada on the Oldman River near Fort Macleod" (Luxton 22). For a more up-to-date database of First Nations communities in Alberta, please refer to the "First Nations Profiles" section of the Turtle Island Native Network at: http://pse2-esd2.ainc.inac.ca/FNProfiles/FNProfiles_list.asp.

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[3] Throughout this chapter, I will analyze how the Banff Park Museum produces forms of nostalgia for the era of colonial adventure on the wild frontier. In developing this argument, I mean to suggest that the BPM at times deploys a rhetoric of nostalgia in the textual panels that narrate the installation and in tourist brochures regarding the museum. As well, I suggest that the BPM's rustic, log-cabin design and its hybrid mixing of museum, railroad station, and hunting-lodge styles also contributes to the installation's ethos of pastness and its inculcation of nostalgia. To then imagine the impact of such discursive and affective codes involves the theorization of particular kinds of imagined museum-goers. For instance, it is by no means given that the Banff Park Museum's discursive and affective codes will be interpreted by all visitors in ways that produce nostalgia. Rather, I attempt to argue that such codes may have particular nostalgic resonances for Euro-Canadian or even Euro-American tourists who come to Banff in search of an encounter with "nature" or with a "Rocky Mountain experience" (a tourist desire Banff repeatedly plays to in its shopping malls and restaurants stylized in alpine design). In positing such an imagined visitor, however, I do not want to foreclose upon the potentially resistant and contrapuntal engagements that could be produced by other museumgoers, such as aboriginal persons or international travellers, to suggest only a few.

As a museological monument to a glorified frontier past, the Banff Park Museum functions as a site of *selective* memory. In re-collecting the heyday of the rugged west, the BPM strategically occludes its own historical relationship with a broader economy of exploitation of "indigeneity"—local "nature" which, according to colonialist logic, encompasses the subcategory of "natives." Accordingly, before I engage in a close reading of the installation as it is presented today (and as it apparently mimics the museum's design circa the early 1900s), I want to re-articulate the BPM in relation to a more widespread system of consuming and reproducing "nature" that was integral to the museum's development and operations during the first half of the twentieth century (and, in different ways, into the present tense). In so doing, I seek to disrupt the BPM's romanticized narrative of western wildness and to prompt the return of its repressed history of material and ideological violence. From this framework, I will demonstrate how the semiotics of taxidermy at work in the Banff Park Museum are irreducible to the preserved specimens on display; rather, taxidermy's semiotics and the complex logic of consumption they seek to camouflage under the guise of preservation are vital to an overarching political economy of colonial domination in the Canadian west.

To expound this argument, I will first re-trace the history of Banff's development and the role of the BPM in the formation of this town as a colonial outpost and a tourist destination. Following this contextualization, I will analyze the BPM's historical role as one institutionalized site articulated in a network of "nature-displays" that effectively trafficked—consumed, re-produced, and recirculated—animal bodies for the purposes of controlling and spectacularizing frontier wildness. Then, I will engage in a close reading of the Banff Park Museum to demonstrate how the semiotics of taxidermy are mobilized in this installation space to reconstruct a narrative that foregrounds and celebrates white male mastery over nature—a narrative in which both masculinity and racial supremacy are key. Although taxidermy appears to focus on the control of animal bodies, it also plays upon the affiliations between the sign of "nature" and the sign of "the native" in colonial discourse, thereby metonymically extending the concept of white mastery to both animal and aboriginal populations. In this context, I will analyze how the Banff Park Museum filters an insidious narrative of colonial domination through the stuffed bodies of natural history specimens and, in so doing, fetishizes the extinction of the ostensibly wild populations it purportedly attempts to preserve.[4]

In a related trajectory of this chapter's argument, I will seek to theorize how the semiotics of taxidermy prompt important reconsideration of the workings of power in museological space. By theorizing taxidermy's system of meaning-making in terms of semiotics, I seek to register not only the discourses it encodes but also the somatic responses it provokes. Accordingly, a consideration of the contingent and performative production of meaning in natural history museums necessitates a re-thinking of installation space not only in terms of its visual dimensions but, also, in terms of the multiple ways it structures the corporeal experiences of visitors. In particular, my study of the BPM will analyze the inter-related workings of display and discipline in museum space while challenging the conventional tendency to understand these mechanics of power in predominantly visual terms. Attending to the somatic registers of the semiotics of taxidermy operative throughout the BPM will enable theorization of the ways that display and discipline work upon the moving body and contour the visitor's interpretation of the installation via touch, smell, hearing, as well as sight. It is precisely through such corporeal registers, I will argue, that the BPM inculcates a powerful sense of nostalgia for the ostensibly lost era of colonialism on the frontier, thereby re-framing civilization's violent encroachments as heroic adventure in the nation's past.

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[4] Throughout this chapter, the terms "conservation" and "preservation" will be invoked repeatedly. In common parlance, these terms are often treated as synonymous and, indeed, this usage is supported by definitions provided by the *Oxford English Dictionary* which use one term to explain the other. While at times I will use the two words interchangeably—largely because I do feel the two terms frequently overlap—I want to acknowledge the particular historical and disciplinary-specific resonances of these concepts. The term "conservation" is strongly inflected by the organized movement for the judicious use of natural resources in turn-of-the-twentieth-century North America. This movement is frequently associated with President Theodore Roosevelt's "brand of Progressivism" and his institution of several key pieces of legislation intended to protect the nation's forest, water, and parkland resources, such as the Reclamation Act of 1902 (Petulla 267-268). For an historical overview of this movement, see Joseph Petulla's *American Environmental History: The Exploitation and Conservation of Natural Resources*. In contrast, the term "preservation" is sometimes considered to be about a philosophy of non-use, rather than responsible or judicious use. In my own studies of museums and national heritage sites, I have noticed that the term "preservation" is more frequently invoked in reference to inanimate objects such as buildings, artifacts, or documents, while "conservation" is invoked in relation to nature (a realm of animate species and organisms). As Miriam Clavir notes: "in German the word 'conservation' was used from the very beginning with regard to museum collections [...], while in English words such as 'restoration' and 'preservation' were favoured" (3). According to Clavir, however, this trend is changing. While there may very well be several more disciplinary-specific applications for these terms, the conservation movement (discussed in this chapter) and the preservation of museum objects and national historic sites are arguably the most relevant to this dissertation.

Back to Nature on a Receding Frontier

The Rocky Mountains Park (later re-named Banff National Park) was the first federally-protected parkland maintained by the Dominion government, spanning 5,730 square miles across the western border of the province of Alberta (Cameron 19). Brought into being by an Act of Parliament in June 1887, it was declared "a public park and a pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada" (Luxton 57). Under the supervision of the Department of the Interior—the same federal agency responsible for "civilizing" the west by attracting settlers and tourists to the region—the park was established for the declared purpose of conserving Canada's natural resources for the health and vitality of the nation. Following the logic of the parks movement in the United States, the Canadian government and corporate powers such as the Canadian Pacific Railway framed nature as antidote for the stresses of urban living and industrialization. In a pamphlet produced by the Department of the Interior in 1910 entitled "The Prince of Playgrounds," Banff is celebrated as "beautiful, but [. . .] also beneficent. The Mineral Springs and Sulphur Baths are curative, and the breezes that blow over Banff have healing in their wings" (Cameron 22). Similarly, the Parks Superintendent published advertisements in the local newspaper, the *Crag and Canyon*, extolling Banff as "a medicinal watering place and pleasure resort" ("New Museum Now Open"). While ostensibly safeguarding the region as a wilderness reserve, the government simultaneously encouraged increased visitation to the area and the concomitant development of hotels, spas, and sanitoriums where people could reap the "curative" benefits of getting "back to nature."

In his discussion of taxidermy in turn of the twentieth-century North America, Mark Simpson compellingly links the seemingly benign desire for getting "back to nature" to discourses of racial fitness and white supremacy that fueled the colonization of the continent ("Immaculate Trophies" 82). According to such a logic, travelling to the western frontier was like "travel[ling] back in time" to a purer, simpler state of wildness where "the 'frontier virtues' that ensure racial mastery" could be recovered and re-enacted (Simpson "Immaculate Trophies" 82). Foregrounded among these "frontier virtues" was the white man's encounter with an "untouched" natural world and, particularly, his mastery of wild animals through hunting. As a result, the conservation movement that lobbied for the creation of national parks was led, particularly in the United States, by prominent sport huntsmen such as President Theodore Roosevelt and George Bird Grinnell, editor of *Field and Stream* (Wonders 153).[5] Although the link between sport hunting and the conservation movement hinges upon a precarious contradiction, in the minds of the Anglo-Saxon bourgeois hunting elite, this logic made perfect sense: the establishment of "protected areas" or "wildlife refuges" enabled animal populations to grow, thereby providing new generations of prey that would ensure the future practice of hunting-qua-"frontier virtue" for a long time to come. Such a logic, however, points toward the instability of the very myth of the "untouched" frontier by conceding that civilization's presence throughout this terrain was already so extensive and disruptive that it had threatened to render big-game populations extinct.

In the case of the Rocky Mountains Park, a similarly fraught logic of conservation was espoused by many of the park's founding patriarchs. Local publicist and taxidermist Norman Luxton produced a promotional pamphlet in 1914, arguing that the prohibition against hunting within the park's borders was actually "an advantage to the hunter rather than otherwise as under protection the game increases rapidly and overflows into the adjacent territory" (qtd. in Simpson "Immaculate Trophies" 83). The Department of the Interior's 1910 tourist brochure similarly asserts:

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[5] In 1888, Grinnell and Roosevelt founded the Boone and Crockett Club, an organization of wealthy and powerful big game hunters who sought "to promote sportsmanship through travel and the exploration of wild country, through the preservation of big game, and through the scientific study of animals in the wild" (Wonders 153). Ironically, although the organization was purportedly dedicated to wildlife preservation, membership was contingent upon collecting three trophy heads of North American big game species (Wonders 153). Key to the concept of preservation expounded by the Boone and Crockett Club was the idea of nature displays, including museums and zoological parks—structures of display that were about the manipulation, rather than preservation, of nature. Roosevelt donated many of his trophy heads to natural history museums and supported the founding of the New York Zoological Gardens in 1896 (Wonders 155).

> Hunting big or small game in the Canadian National Parks is prohibited at all times, but once outside the limits of the Parks the sportsman finds numerous species of deer and bear, as well as Goat, Bighorn sheep, Mountain Lion and the smaller fur-bearing animals. Few parts of the world offer such a variety of game, and sportsmen from all countries, having once tasted the joys of a hunt in the Canadian Rockies, return again and again. (Cameron 31)

Articulating the same logic as Luxton—namely, that park preservation improves game populations just "outside the limits" of protected areas—the Department of the Interior brochure goes one step further to argue that the Canadian Rockies attracts hunters from "all countries" due to its exceptional abundance of wild animals. According to historian George Colpitts, boosterism in western Canada capitalized upon the rising conservation movement by promoting the Candian frontier as "the last wildlife stronghold on the continent" (103). In an attempt to gain an advantage over popular American hunting locales, promotional materials played upon fears of species extinction in the United States while simultaneously inculcating a "myth of superabundance" vis-á-vis Canada's last, best west (Colpitts 103).

It is precisely within this socio-historical context that the Banff Park Museum first came into being. In particular, this natural history institution both shaped and was shaped by three specific yet inter-related agendas: colonialism, conservationism, and western boosterism. Crucially, the museum reinforced colonialist ideology by re-narrativizing the myth of travelling back in time along Canada's receding western frontier. With the construction of the museum's permanent building in 1903, the Department of the Interior encoded such a temporal fantasy on a structural level by commissioning a former railway engineer named John Stocks as the principal architect.[6] Stocks accordingly designed the museum in "railway pagoda" style—a style that mimicked many of the early train stations the CPR built across Canada's west, signalled by trademark details such as overhanging veranda eaves, carved brackets, and a cross-log motif on the exterior walls. The Banff Park Museum's architecture consequently effected a kind of imaginary overlapping of spaces that prompted museum visitors to feel as though they were entering a train station and embarking on a trip to the frontier. In the process, the discursive strategies of both the railway and the museum were also overlapped and, as a result, the Canadian Pacific Railway's marketing tactic of framing western rail travel as a kind of trip back in time to a land of wilderness and adventure (Francis 177) was transferred to the experience of museum-going as well.[7]

To promote the concept of travel into an adventurous past, the CPR's first general manager, Cornelius Van Horne, repeatedly took recourse to the production of spectacle at railway stations posted across the Canadian west. The kinds of spectacle manufactured by the CPR repeatedly played to colonial stereotypes of the wild west by exhibiting "wild animals" and "wild Indians" as icons of the nation's "prehistory." In 1894, when floods damaged part of the train tracks, the CPR organized prolonged entertainment for its patrons by hiring members of the Stoney reserve to perform dances and rodeo events for the travellers. Moreover, the CPR was also instrumental in the development of Banff Indian Days, an annual event where First Nations groups engaged in "traditional" dances and ceremonies while tourists could watch and, thus, be exposed to the ostensibly vanishing culture of the nation's "Indians" (Francis 179). The CPR's particular brand of tourist entertainment along the western rail lines became well publicized in books such Douglas Sladen's 1895 travelogue *On the Cars and Off*. In this text, Sladen applauds the CPR's initiative, remarking: "The Indians and the bears were splendid stage properties to have at a station where both the east and west bound trains … stop for lunch" (qtd. in Francis 179). By deploying "Indians" and "bears" as "stage properties" positioned at train stations along the western frontier, the CPR produced spectacles that semiotically linked the signs of "animals" and "aboriginals" in a colonialist mythology of the uncivilized past. In the popular imagination, therefore, the western railway station became associated with the exhibition of the nation's wildness.[8]

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[6] The Banff Park Museum (originally named the Rocky Mountains Park Museum) was first established in 1895, in a small building located on the corner of Spray and Mountain Avenues on the opposite side of the Bow River from its present location. The building, however, soon became too small for its collection of specimens and a new structure was built in the present location ("Banff's First Museum" 1). The new museum was officially opened on June 27, 1903, operated by the Dominion government and supervised on a daily basis by curator Norman Bethune Sanson, one of the founding patriarchs of the town of Banff ("New Museum Open" 1). Prior to becoming a natural history curator, Sanson served as a member of the Queen's Own Rifles in the North West Rebellion of 1885 (Luxton 92). Thus, Sanson marked his role as an agent of empire subjugating First Nations resistance before he arrived in Banff in 1892, where he continued his imperial duties (albeit in a very different way) via the work of ordering and colonizing the Canadian west.

[7] Today, Parks Canada continues to attempt to capitalize upon the "railway pagoda" design of the BPM. In a promotional booklet for the museum, one page features an architect's drawing of the building marked by a caption that comments: "No, this isn't the Banff train station, but it's easy to see why people think so" (Gin 3). In so doing, Parks Canada continues to play on the fantasy of stepping back in time upon entering the building, almost like being transported on the railroad back to the wild days of the frontier.

The Banff Park Museum's architectural mimicry of railway pagoda design summoned up the experience of the western train station and, in so doing, underscored the natural history museum's function as another site of colonial spectacle—a site where the civilized traveller could encounter wildness paradoxically under the control of colonialism's machinery. Although the museum's strategies of exhibition differed significantly from those of the railway platform, the BPM invoked the same iconic figures of "Indians" and "bears" as stereotyped symbols of civilization's others, rendered accessible to the colonial gaze. While the Banff Park Museum deployed skins and mounted corpses as synecdoches of wildlife, it similarly displayed aboriginal cultural objects—re-framed according to the category of ethnographic "artifacts"—as remnants of an ostensibly endangered "Indian" population. Curator Norman Sanson felt the inclusion of such artifacts were so important to the museum's inventory that he donated his own collection of "birch bark rogans or baskets, samples of porcupine and silk work on leather, [...] fish-net making tools, bone articles, etc., made by the Indians themselves and following original methods" ("Letter from Superintendent Jennings"). The BPM, however, did not stop at the display of "Indian handicraft[s]" ("Letter from Superintendent Jennings"); rather, it assumed proprietary and exhibitionary rights over "the bones of an Indian chief long dead" ("Museum is Outstanding" 1). In so doing, the Banff Park Museum drew an insidious linkage between the taxidermic display of dead animals and the exhibition of "Indian" remains that effectively de-humanized the native other and rendered him one more species under Euro-Canadian control. Thus, catalogued together under the institutional rubric of "natural history," the Banff Park Museum effectively rendered both "nature" and "natives" objects of colonial taxonomization and study—objects relegated to the "history" of nature or, rather, the "prehistory" of man.[9]

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[8] While it is not my aim to provide a comprehensive historical critique of the racist policies of the CPR and CNR in this chapter, it is important to note that in addition to manipulating First Nations groups for the purposes of marketing, Canada's railroad systems also furthered the project of white domination in Canada by subjugating Asian and black immigrants into racialized labour pools exploited for the dangerous and arduous work of railroad development. For further information, see chapter one of Daniel Francis' *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History*. It is also interesting to consider the orientalist resonances of the "railway pagoda" architectural style used repeatedly across the West, given the fact that the exploitation of Asian workers was a crucial part of realizing the "national dream" of the railroad.

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[9] In the Department of the Interior's 1910 promotional pamphlet entitled *The Prince of Playgrounds*, the Banff Park Museum is described in the following terms: "The Banff Museum contains splendidly preserved specimens of the big game and lesser mammals, the fish life, and bird life, to be found within the Park; a beautifully mounted and correctly classified herbarium is also here. Indian relics are shown and specimens

During the early twentieth century, the Banff Park Museum's extensive collection and display of taxidermic specimens also perpetuated and extended the problematic politics of the conservation movement, as defined by huntsmen such as Grinnell and Roosevelt. While the dominant conservationist logic advocated the parkland protection of wildlife in order to ensure more game for future hunting, the prevailing logic of taxidermy similarly deployed the rhetoric of conservation to legitimate the violence of species "collection." In his 1891 treatise on *Taxidermy and Zoological Collecting*, William Hornaday, one of America's pioneering taxidermists and director of the New York Zoological Park, argues that taxidermy's mode of "perpetual preservation" was the urgent solution to the threat of species extinction (ix). Although Hornaday's text is largely a practical handbook on hunting tactics and specimen preparation, he took pains to frame the tedious work of zoological "collecting" (a euphemism for killing and dissecting animal bodies) as a moralistic project to "build up great zoological collections [...] before any more of the leading species are exterminated" (ix). Outlining the terms of such work more explicitly, Hornaday further asserts that "[t]he duty of a naturalist to his specimen begins when he levels his gun at it in the field" (13). According to this conservationist tautology, therefore, to prevent the extinction of wildlife, the collector

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of Indian workmanship of more than ordinary interest [....] To the botanist, the geologist, and the naturalist, the Museum is the central point of interest throughout the summer season, and the exhibits attract the layman as well as the man of science. The Banff Museum has been called by appreciative visitors 'The University of the Hills'" (Cameron 25). This excerpt demonstrates how "Indian relics" are classified according to the same principles as big game, mammals, birds, and plant life, objectified as material for botanical and geological studies. Moreover, in the Department of the Interior's publication of the *Handbook to the Rocky Mountains Park Museum* in 1914, the wildlife of the region are classified and taxonomized in zoological scientific form. At the end of the *Handbook*, the "Indians of the Rocky Mountains Park" are similarly taxonomized and described in terms of physical appearance and habitat, thereby catalogued like another species of wildlife.

had a "duty" to take on the task of extermination himself, to kill the animal properly, and to preserve its remains in taxidermic form.[10]

The Banff Park Museum also reinscribed the tautological thinking of the conservation movement by seeking to preserve the park's natural heritage via the collection of supposedly indigenous animals in the shape of taxidermic specimens. Ironically, then, the museum's celebration of regional wild-*life* took recourse to death. Although the museum's first collection of specimens was supplied by the Geological Survey of Canada, curator Norman Sanson was an indefatigable collector who sought to continually expand the museum's caches.[11] As a result, Sanson and later managers of the BPM deployed the imperatives of museological collection and scientific inquiry in order to circumvent the no-hunting policy that was supposedly the foundation of the national parks program.[12] While the BPM gained permission to undertake species collection within the park, taxidermic dissection and reconstruction was also carried on within its borders at the local trading post, "The Sign of the Goat Curio Shop" ("New Museum Open" 1). Featuring the trades of renowned taxidermist C.F. Hine, the very existence of a taxidermy workshop inside the perimeter of protected parkland signalled Banff's traffic in dead animals reproduced as trophies, commodities, and scientific specimens. At the centre of this traffic was the Banff Park Museum: a natural history haven ostensibly committed to the protection and preservation of animals that simultaneously doubled as an institution that both sanctioned and arranged for their death.

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[10] In the next paragraph of the text, Hornaday continues: "Study the moral principles of your guns, find out exactly what they will do with what you put into them, and then don't shoot your specimens too much. What is a tiger worth with the top of his head blown off, or a deer with a great hole torn in his side by an explosive bullet" (13). While the sections from Hornaday's text quoted in this paragraph deploy the phrase "zoological collecting" as a euphemism for taxidermy, throughout Hornaday's corpus, the term may also be used to refer to the building of zoos. The multiple practices which this term encompasses accordingly underscore the intimate continuities between taxidermy and imprisoned liveness.

[11] The Geological Survey of Canada had previously used these natural history specimens in conjunction with the Department of Immigration for the purposes of sending them to Europe as part of a display regarding Canada's nature and culture (Luxton 92). In particular, taxidermic specimens were used to "convey the Dominion's untapped natural wealth" and, thus, supposedly entice "desirable" immigrant populations to re-settle in Canada (Colpitts 107). In order to transport natural history specimens, the Department of the Interior relied on its affiliations with the CPR. "Never missing a promotional opportunity, the Canadian Pacific Railway shipped taxidermy displays to Europe to magnify the western image as an abundant big-game reserve and a region welcoming to homesteaders" (Colpitts 6). In so doing, the federal government and the CPR alike deployed taxidermy—ostensibly a symbol of species preservation—to further the process of western development and settlement on the frontier that would have a profound environmental impact on the health of wildlife populations.

[12] In the Department of the Interior's 1914 *Handbook of the Rocky Mountains Park Museum*, the complex problem of asserting the indigeneity of the museum's taxidermic specimens while simultaneously upholding the park's no-hunting policy results in some ambiguity as to where the specimens came from. In this context, the handbook comments: "The collections are of the natural history of the Rocky Mountains

At the same time that the Banff Park Museum extended and re-worked the agendas of colonialism and conservationism, so also did this natural history institution put the discourse of western boosterism into play. In 1903, an article published in the *Crag and Canyon* publicized the "new museum," describing its interior display in the following terms:

> Grouped in splendid order and looking just as natural as life are a lot of fine specimens of animals killed within a radius of 150 miles around Banff. The variety is large and includes almost everything four-legged that is known to the hunter of the Canadian Northwest. Among the most interesting of these specimens are a pair of musk ox, a family of mountain goat, [...] an elk calf, a buffaloe [sic] calf, a wolverine, a cross fox, a prairie antelope and a bob cat or lynx. The heads of various animals ornament the walls around the complete figures. ("New Museum Open" 1)

Packed into a two-story building with only two medium-sized rooms open for display, the BPM's exhibition of "almost everything four-legged that is known to the hunter of the

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Park region, that is from the Rocky Mountains of Alberta and British Columbia generally. The visitor is not confused by specimens of more distant parts of the mountains or other parts of the world. But specimens such as are found in the Park are included even if taken far outside the Park itself" (Smith 3). At the same time, the Banff Park Museum did circumvent the park's no-hunting policy at least until the mid-twentieth century. In a memorandum from the Dominion Wildlife Service dated February 25, 1948, the BPM was granted a permit "to collect and possess specimens of migratory birds, etc., in the Province of Alberta, including Banff National Park" ("Memorandum from Dominion Wildlife Service" 1).

Canadian Northwest" served the interests of western boosterism by visually and spatially reinscribing its myth of regional superabundance. While the Banff Park Museum sought to dramatize the area's wildlife bounty and thus entice adventure-seekers to the town, its recourse to taxidermic displays encoded a much more complex and ambivalent message regarding frontier wilderness and the threat of extinction. The very premise of stepping out of nature's "playground" and into a natural history museum begged the question as to why, if the surrounding territory was supposedly teeming with such animals, a tourist would have to go inside to have communion with nature in the form of reconstructed animal corpses. Ironically, then, the Banff Park Museum's depiction of natural superabundance was subordinated to the broader project of taxonomizing, taming, and controlling the western frontier and manufacturing a narrative of the Canadian wilderness according to colonial interests. The BPM's taxidermic displays were crucial to such a narrativization, effectively memorializing the white man's mastery over nature while simultaneously inculcating a powerful nostalgia for the wild frontier that, due to civilization's supposedly inevitable encroachments, was receding farther into the nation's mythologized past.

The Zoologics of Banff's Traffic

During the first several decades of the twentieth century, the Banff Park Museum was operated in relation to two other local sites of "nature exhibition." In 1898, an animal paddock was built roughly a mile and a half from the centre of town, near Cascade Mountain. Initially, the fenced enclosure housed sixteen buffalo donated by Lord Strathcona and three buffalo from T. G. Blackstock of Toronto (Luxton 89). Built next to the railway route travelling into Banff and the road to Lake Minnewanka, the enclosure functioned as another rail-side attraction that catered to the CPR's promotional agenda of enabling tourists to "encounter" wildlife from the safety and comfort of their coach or car. By 1907, the paddock's herd of buffalo had grown to a population of 79, while other animals, including mule deer, elk, moose, bighorn sheep, angora goats, lynx, raccoons, and porcupine, had been added to the enclosure, either kept in cages or allowed to roam within the perimeter (Douglas, 1907, 6). The bison, however, remained the central attraction at the paddock, displayed as the few survivors of a once-mighty species threatened by extinction. As Canadian Geological Survey scientist Harlan Smith writes in his 1914 *Handbook of the Rocky Mountains Park Museum*: "[c]onsidering [...] how few there are left, [... the 'American Buffalo'] may be considered an animal of the past" (16).

Although the Banff paddock portrayed itself as a wildlife refuge, it was designed and operated with a prioritization upon the exhibition—rather than the conservation—of nature. The confinement of such a variety of wild animals within a limited enclosure (approximately 300 acres) resulted in scarce grazing grounds and the restriction of migratory processes for animals both contained within and roaming outside of the paddock.[13] Keeping animals within the fenced grounds also rendered many of the species captive prey for coyotes who could penetrate the enclosure to attack from within. In 1907 alone, this situation led to the death of seven mule deer (Douglas 6). Moreover, in the 1906 edition of the *Department of the Interior Annual Report*, Parks Superintendent Howard Douglas called attention to the problem of housing caged animals within the paddock, arguing that "some more suitable and permanent provisions" were necessary due "to all the inconvenience naturally arising from the absence of proper sanitary and other necessary equipment" (6). Although Douglas recognized the conservation risks associated with the paddock system, the so-called solution he formulated only exacerbated the park's use of wildlife for the purposes of promotional spectacle. In the 1906 *Annual Report*, the superintendent writes:

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[13] In the *Department of the Interior's Annual Report* for 1910, the Superintendent notes that "[t]he buffalo did not do quite as well during the summer [....] [a]s this was due to the limited area of their pasture [....] [T]heir poor condition was wholly caused by lack of feed" (Douglas 8-9).

> I would respectfully suggest that an appropriation be made without delay for the purpose of establishing in the grounds surrounding the museum building a properly equipped zoological garden, where permanent provision might be made for the keeping of our caged animals. Cages constructed of cement and iron [...] would be [...] much more convenient for visitors to the museum [....] I am strongly of the opinion [...] that in a few years the zoological gardens should become one of the leading attractions for visitors to this portion of the National Park. (Douglas, 1906, 6-7)

In response to the Superintendent's report, an aviary and zoo was developed in 1907 on the grounds adjacent to the Banff Park Museum.[14] By geographically positioning the zoo on the same property as the BPM, the Department of the Interior initiated powerful semiotic links between the taxidermic spectacle inside the natural history building and the "living" spectacle staged outside in the zoological "garden" made of "cement and iron."

Similar to the mandate of the museum, the Banff zoo was initially designed to showcase animals indigenous to the territory of the Rocky Mountains Park. By 1911, however, the zoo included representatives of such "exotic" species as Mexican orange squirrels, Mexican black squirrels, a Mongolian partridge, and two Rhesus monkeys ("Banff Park Zoo" 4). Two years later, the zoo acquired one of its show-stealers, "Pete" the polar bear ("Banff Park Zoo" 4). As a result, the zoo came to serve a doubled colonialist function: while it enabled tourists to encounter frontier wildness as a controlled spectacle, thereby dramatizing "civilization's" influence upon the west, it simultaneously symbolized the Dominion's enduring connection to empire and "its conquest of all distant and exotic lands" (Berger 19). Thus, in a mountain retreat promoted as a sanctuary for "getting back to nature," the Banff zoological garden performed an important pedagogical function by teaching the triumph of national progress and colonial development both at home and abroad.[15]

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[14] The aviary began in embryonic form in 1904 when William Whyte, Vice-President of the CPR, presented the park with ten pheasants which were then housed on the museum grounds. The aviary, however, became much more significant with the development of the zoo in 1907 (Luxton 88).

During the first half of the twentieth century, therefore, the Banff Park Museum, animal paddock, and zoo functioned as three important sites articulated in a powerful circuit of "nature exhibition." The inter-referentiality of these three sites is developed throughout the *Handbook of the Rocky Mountains Park Museum*, written by Harlan Smith in 1914.[16] In this text, Smith repeatedly links the taxidermically-preserved animals displayed inside the BPM to their counterparts in the paddock and the zoo. Cataloguing each species exhibited in the musem, Smith names them according to Latin taxonomies and then proceeds to describe their appearance, habitat, and feeding techniques. In the case of the "Rocky Mountain Goat" or "*Oreamnos Montanus*," Smith writes:

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[15] In his essay "Why Look at Animals?," John Berger traces the historical development of zoos, arguing that "in the 19th century, public zoos were an endorsement of modern colonial power. The capturing of animals was a symbolic representation of the conquest of all distant and exotic lands" (19). The encoded affiliations between zoological display and colonial power, I argue, in many cases persisted well into the twentieth century.

[16] In the introduction to the museum *Handbook*, Harlan Smith comments: "The Rocky Mountains Park Museum, the Zoo, immediately adjacent to it, and the Paddock, about two miles away on the road to Bankhead and Calgary, and on either side of the Canadian Pacific Railway, are among the chief points of interest in connection with the museum" (8).

> In shape they resemble a little buffalo, having high shoulders, thick body, stocky legs, and carrying the head low [....] The coat is all yellowish white, which distinguishes them as the only all white ruminant cud chewer in the world [....] The flesh is so dry and musky that white men dislike it [....] Very few have as yet been kept or bred in captivity. (14)

At the end of this description, Smith punctuates the entry (as he repeatedly does throughout the handbook) with the assertion: "[l]iving specimens may be seen in the paddock and at large in the Park" (14). Written for a parks system ostensibly dedicated to conservation, this description of the Rocky Mountain Goat performs a second kind of surgery upon the taxidermically-preserved specimen, slicing it into itemized parts. In so doing, Smith's discussion focuses on the parts of the animal that are particularly salient to the interests of wildlife consumption on the frontier—namely, the "coat" or fur for trading and the "flesh" for eating. At the same time, the *Handbook* entry attempts to distance itself from this process of consumption by marking the difference between "white," "civilized" taste from that of the ostensibly uncivilized natives who constitute the unnamed others upon which the description turns. By asserting that "white men dislike" the "dry and musky flesh" of the Rocky Mountain goat, Smith implicity suggests that aboriginals are not so discriminating. While the *Handbook* entry attempts to distance itself from the simple and supposedly uncouth consumption of the native, it also unwittingly registers the insidious forms of consumption effected by the so-called conservation practices of zoological collectors. Noting that very few of the "*Oreamnos Montanus*" "have as yet been kept or bred in captivity," the *Handbook* suggests the "unnaturalness" of such a form of "nature display," raising doubts about the ability of such a system to sustain—or to literally reproduce—itself. As a result, Smith's commentary draws a subtextual linkage between the space of the natural history museum and the space of the animal paddock as sites that, while purporting to portray wildlife in a state of "liveness," register the threat of species death.[17]

In "Immaculate Trophies," Simpson refers to taxidermic reconstruction as the production of a kind of "gutted liveness" (88). Simpson's phrase, I want to suggest, importantly signals the "hollowness" of taxidermy's macabre simulation of wildlife "resurrection" ("Immaculate Trophies" 88). Developing the concept further in a subsequent essay entitled "Powers of Liveness," Simpson seems to move away from the "hollowness" I read into the production of gutted but reanimated animal bodies, arguing that "liveness serves to highlight an ideal of absolute vitality, amplifying—through taxidermy's invention as through conservation's intervention—the very essence and texture of life against the looming extinction of animal species" (3). In response to this compelling formulation, I want to suggest that while liveness may seek to "highlight an ideal of absolute vitality," in many instances, its efforts in "taxidermic invention" ironically mark the *failure* of this ideal due to the residual problem that taxidermy's "resurrections in fur" cannot erase the macabre trace of death from the bodies it seeks to reincarnate (Simpson "Immaculate Trophies" 88). As a result, the concept of "liveness" hovers between the unstable categories of "life" and "death," registering taxidermy's uncanny invocation of the spectre of animal mortality—and the related threat of "looming extinction"—in the very process of reconstructing specimens as monuments to "wild-*life*" vitality.

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[17] While the particular example of the "*Oreamnos Montanus*" entry in the museum *Handbook* only refers to the animal paddock, many other entries throughout the text establish inter-referentiality between the museum and the zoo as well. For instance, in the case of the Black Bear, the Grizzly Bear, the Red Fox, the Kit Fox, and many other specimens, Smith punctuates his description with the comment: "Living specimens may be seen in the Zoo" (26).

In the context of Banff's early twentieth-century circuit of nature displays, the only site that deployed taxidermic specimens in a conventional or literal sense was the natural history museum. That said, the animal paddock and the zoo also encoded the semiotics of taxidermy and the concomitant sign of "liveness" in different and yet powerful ways. At these two sites, the same macabre spectre of death continued to haunt the exhibition of "living specimens." [18] While purportedly offering a live counterpart to the museum's taxidermic collection by staging animality-in-motion, the nature displays of the paddock and zoo ironically continued to brand their animals with the fraught sign of liveness—a sign burdened by the trace of mortality—that effectively destabilized these spectacles of species vitality. This circuit of nature displays was linked not only by inter-referentiality in tourism discourses or by their similar exhibitionary strategies; rather, as I will demonstrate later in this section, the discourse of liveness operated as both representational and material or physical practices.

In terms of the representational problematic of liveness, I want to suggest that the strategy of extracting selected animals from their natural habitats and exhibiting them as metonymic exemplars of the teeming wildlife populations of western Canada ironically destabilized the principle of metonymic contiguity itself. In other words, instead of bringing visitors of the paddock and zoo closer to nature by virtue of contact with selected "living specimens," Banff's network of nature exhibitions effectively initiated not a contiguous connection or linkage to such animal populations but, rather, a *distancing* and *deferral* of the real referents of wildlife. Here, my reference to distancing is intended to suggest that the presence of metonymic exemplars in the zoo and paddock effectively marked the absence of the animal populations they were supposed to represent. In her essay "Looking at the Zoo," Susan Willis argues that "[z]oo animals are body doubles, stand-ins for the real animals existing (or becoming extinct) elsewhere. Visit a zoo and you walk through a living cemetery of all that is diminishing, disappearing, and soon to be gone. Look at the animals [...] they are living taxidermy" (674).[19] Willis' conception of zoo animals as "body doubles" resonates compellingly with my analysis of Banff's early twentieth-century nature displays and the deployment of selected animals as metonymic representatives for the wild populations supposedly "at large" throughout the park.[20] While the animals in most zoos are supposed to represent populations living "elsewhere" (as Willis notes), the specimens on display in the Banff paddock were supposed to represent populations readily present within the park. Thus, in the case of the Banff system, the process of "standing-in" for the real referents of wildlife only increased the gap between the body double and that which it was supposed to signify. As a result, the presence of the body double enclosed in the zoo or paddock effected a kind of representational disappearance of "wild-*life*"—a disappearance that reinforced narratives of species extinction. Thus, the exhibition of animal liveness in the paddock and zoo registered uncertainty regarding the vitality of the natural superabundance it was supposed to metonymically validate.

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[18] Throughout the museum *Handbook*, Harlan Smith repeatedly refers to the animals exhibited in the zoo and paddock as "living specimens"—a term that, as I will demonstrate, has profound implications for understanding the system of nature displays in Banff (13, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21).

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[19] In his essay "Why Look at Animals?" John Berger articulates a similar thought, commenting: "[e]verywhere animals disappear. In zoos they constitute the living monument to their own disappearance" (24).

[20] This particular turn of phrase is used repeatedly by Harlan Smith throughout the *Handbook to the Rocky Mountains Park Museum* (14, 20).

By inscribing the fraught sign of liveness upon animals on exhibition, the Banff network of nature displays dramatized narratives of vanishing wildlife that effectively legitimated so-called preservationist strategies such as keeping animals in captivity and attempting to breed them in confinement.[21] As a result, the spectre of animal extinction that the zoo and paddock cast upon their living specimens ironically served to justify the purported *raison d'être* of such nature displays. In the process, the exhibition of metonymic species exemplars displaced and deferred the real referents—namely, the living animal constituencies "at large" in the park—not into the future, but rather, retrospectively into a past mythologized by colonial narratives of the receding frontier. In this way, the zoo and paddock became "living cemeteries" (in the words of Susan Willis) that nostalgically memorialized wildlife as a tribute to the nation's history while simultaneously demonstrating the colonialist achievement of taming the frontier for tourism and settlement and, thus, reproducing "nature" in a controlled environment.

If the network of nature displays in early twentieth-century Banff dramatized the disappearance of wildlife on a representational level, it also engendered material violence against the animals it claimed to preserve and protect. The traffic in animal bodies that connected the spaces of the natural history museum, the paddock, and the zoo hinged upon the pernicious consumption, rather than conservation, of nature. More specifically, although the paddock and zoo were supposed to supplement the Banff Park Museum by displaying living specimens, the problems of wildlife confinement repeatedly resulted in deaths that, in turn, provided new fodder for taxidermic preparation and exhibition in the museum.[22] Such traffic in animal bodies may be traced throughout the *Department of the Interior's Annual Reports* in the early decades of the 1900s. For example, in the 1904 edition, Parks Superintendent Howard Douglas reported the death of a buffalo in the animal paddock, noting: "A fine four-year-old was killed in June last year while fighting with another bull. His head has been mounted, and now adorns the walls of the museum, where it attracts the attention of admiring visitors" (6). In 1908, a similar narrative of loss and recuperation was articulated by Superintendent Douglas in the *Annual Report*, commenting that the animal paddock had lost one buffalo bull to pneumonia, while a bull elk was killed while fighting another in the enclosure (7). Under the subsequent heading of "The Museum and Grounds," Douglas celebrated new additions to the BPM's collection, noting that both animals who died in the paddock were reincarnated in the museum as taxidermic specimens (8). Underlying the logic of parkland management, therefore, was an insidious re-conceptualization of conservation as a kind of strategic consumption and recycling of animal bodies that hinged not upon the sustaining of life but, rather, the reproduction of *liveness* as a tourist attraction that dramatized colonial mastery over the wild frontier.[23]

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[21] In 1905, the Parks Superintendent decided that pheasants kept in the aviary (on the zoo grounds) should be bred and when there were enough birds, they would be released into the park. The pheasants, however, failed to reproduce due to being kept in captivity without large enough pheasant runs. By 1908, the Superintendent decided not to free any of the birds but, rather, to attempt to breed them for sale and gain a "yearly revenue" ("Banff Park Zoo" 2).

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[22] In addition to the so-called accidental deaths that occurred in the paddock and zoo, the matter of specimen "collecting" engendered violence against animals in the park environs. In the *Department of the Interior's Annual Report* for 1910, the Superintendent notes that in the process of attempting to secure wolverines for the zoo, several "were either injured while tying them or died during the long tramp over the mountains to Banff" (Douglas 8).

[23] Many incidents of violent animal deaths in the Banff zoo occurred over the first few decades of the twentieth century. For instance, "two young raccoons were eaten by their father, one wolf puppy was killed by the coyotes in the cage next door, and one bald eagle died in a fight with its cage mate" ("Banff Park Zoo" 5). Norman Sanson used many of these corpses for taxidermic specimens in the adjacent museum.

While the Rocky Mountain Parks administration legitimated its network of nature displays by framing these ecologically deleterious sites as forms of wildlife management, park officials and the Department of the Interior simultaneously deflected the culpability for wildlife consumption onto native groups in the region. In the *Department of the Interior's Annual Report* for 1906, Superintendent Douglas writes:

> Among the offenders against the game laws, the Indians are by far the worst. They invade the National park at all seasons of the year, and slaughter any animal they run across without regard to age or sex [....] I would recommend that your department should without delay instruct all Indian agents in the west to notify the Indians in their charge that they are not permitted to shoot any game of any kind at any time in the Rocky Mountains Park, and that any offender against the law in this respect would [...] be subjected to the maxiumum penalty allowed by the law. (1906, 16)

By framing First People's hunting practices as "indiscriminate killing" (Douglas, 1906, 16), the Department of the Interior and the park's administration positioned themselves as the modern custodians of frontier wilderness and the final arbiters of what constituted "judicious" versus "indiscriminate" wildlife consumption. In so doing, the federal government instituted its fraught logic of conservation as the hegemonic law that controlled the use and abuse of the nation's natural resources, thereby legitimating its interests in consumption under the self-proclaimed rationale of nature's protection. Moreover, by vilifying the "Indians" as the "worst offenders" against such conservation endeavours, the federal government was able to link its programs of "nature management" and "native management" under the broader regime of colonial control.

The network of nature displays in Banff remained one of the most prominent tourist attractions in the area for the first three decades of the twentieth century.[24] By the 1930s, however, popular sentiment regarding the function of a zoological garden in a national park began to change. Although it has been argued that this shift was influenced by changing understandings of conservation work ("Banff Park Zoo" 7), I want to suggest that, instead, re-consideration of the Banff zoo may have been prompted by changing aesthetic considerations regarding different types of nature displays and their "proper" places of exhibition. With the development of more zoos in major cities across North America during the early twentieth century, this particular form of nature exhibition became popularly associated with urban space. In contrast, the Banff animal paddock and the natural history museum framed according to railway pagoda design were more in keeping with the aesthetic of the rugged Rocky Mountain frontier. As a result, although the Banff zoological gardens were closed in 1937, the paddock and museum continued to function as key tourist sites in the region for roughly the next sixty years.

In 1997, Parks Canada conceded that the animal paddock in Banff was causing significant environmental problems and, thus, needed to be closed. This decision was prompted by the Banff-Bow Valley Study commissioned by the federal government in the mid-1990s. Specifically, the report noted that "the animal paddock, along with the park's airstrip, horse corrals and army cadet camp" restricted the migration of "large carnivores [particularly bears and wolves] and other sensitive wildlife between Vermilion Lakes and the Cascade Valley" (Ellis). On October 17, 1997, the ten remaining bison in the paddock were transferred to Elk Island National Park and the enclosure was finally shut down.[25] While many Banff residents—including the operating managers of the Banff Park Museum—are happy to end the story there, an important post-script ruptures the *telos* of conservational progress that is often inscribed in narrating the closure of the paddock. Although Banff's bison were transferred to Elk Island, it was with the specific intent of being publicly auctioned as part of the park's "bison management strategy program" (Ellis). Bill Fisher, Superintendent of Elk Island, stated that he hoped to garner $30,000 for the Banff herd at the public auction, the proceeds of which would be returned to Parks Canada coffers (Ellis). While the trail of Banff's bison becomes somewhat hard to track after this point, evidence suggests that the animals were purchased by the Oil Sands magnate Syncrude for display on environmentally "reclaimed" land north of Fort McMurray (Shukin). Although the "Bison Viewpoint" just outside the borders of Syncrude's current mining sites deploys the animals as a symbol of ecological regeneration in the wake of industrial apocalypse, the herd suffers from anthrax and poisoning from residual toxins in the land on which the enclosure is situated (Shukin).[26]

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[24] Describing the significance of the animal paddock to tourism in the region, the Superintendent reported to the Department of the Interior in 1904 that "[s]carcely a visitor comes to Banff who does not find time to pay a visit to the animal paddock [….] About 5,200 persons passed through the gates during the past year on horseback or in vehicles, and many hundreds of pedestrians have inspected the animals from outside" (Douglas, 1904, 6). Similarly, in the *Department of the Interior's Annual Report* for 1908, the Superintendent remarked that "[t]he museum and grounds continue to prove a yearly increasing attraction to visitors as evidenced by the increased number of those who registered. Besides there were a great many who visited the grounds without entering their names on the books. These, as will be seen, include people from almost every part of the globe" (Douglas, 1908, 8). Many similar comments were made throughout the *Department of the Interior's Annual Reports* for several years, while careful monitoring of the statistics for tourist visitation were published with each report.

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[25] Elk Island National Park is a wildlife reserve located approximately 35 kilometres east of Edmonton. The park "is home to nearly 400 wood bison and 650 plains bison, as well as moose and elk" (Ellis).

[26] All information regarding Syncrude and its exploitation of bison herds comes directly from Nicole Shukin's unpublished dissertation, *The Mimetics of Mobile Capital*. I am indebted to Shukin's excellent critique of Syncrude's corporate machinations and I thank her for informing me of the connection between the Banff herd and Syncrude's acquisition of bison in 1997. On signage at Syncrude's "Bison Viewpoint" north of Fort McMurray—a tourist stop that overlooks supposedly "reclaimed" land and the buffalo herd that grazes there—Syncrude explicitly acknowledges that the bison were obtained from Banff and Elk Island National Parks.

Rather than constituting a triumph for conservationism, then, the closure of the Banff paddock set in motion further traffic in animal bodies that perpetuated the exploitation of wildlife.

Out of the three inter-related sites of nature exhibition that were so central to tourism in early twentieth-century Banff, only the natural history museum continues to operate today. At a time when both the zoo and the paddock are retroactively viewed as problematic forms of wildlife conservation, the Banff Park Museum enjoys renewed attention as a National Historic Site and a monument to century-old ways of collecting and studying nature. In this vein, I want to now consider how the BPM has managed to preserve its own life as a prominent tourist institution and how it continues to inculcate nostalgia for the frontier virtues of a mythologized national past.

"A Museum of a Museum/Un Musée Dans un Musée"

Today, the Banff Park Museum fashions itself as an embalmed space of the past that preserves the original organization of the institution circa 1900. The BPM stakes its claim to historical accuracy upon the faithful following of Harlan Smith's 1914 *Handbook to the Rocky Mountains Park Museum.* At this time, the museum was re-structured and re-organized by Smith, an anthropologist from the Geological Survey and the National Museum of Canada. Transporting his expertise from the colonial centre to the frontier periphery, Smith descended upon the BPM with a mandate to instate order in the region by taxonomizing and cataloguing "nature" at this outpost museum. Celebrating the arrival of Smith's civilizing influence, the *Crag and Canyon* boasted: "Mr. Smith has been connected with the largest Museums of the world and is well known in scientific quarters of what good a Museum does to the public. Mr. Smith writes a very interesting article on Science, entitled 'The Educational Work of a Great Museum,' that after once [sic] read, you come to the conclusion that a town or city is not complete without a Museum" ("Banff Government Museum Receiving Attention" 2). In this sense, the re-ordering of the Banff Park Museum in 1914 was perceived as integral to the making of Banff into a "town or city"—a civilized space that had triumphed over the disorder of frontier wildness. If Smith's *Handbook* is the gospel according to which the museum was and is currently organized, however, there is substantial room for interpretation: while the text scientifically catalogues the various species represented in the early twentieth-century collection, it does not describe the specific layout of the installation or the signage that accompanied the displays. A close reading of the museum space as it is presently designed demonstrates that, rather than merely displaying the objects of an early natural history collection, the BPM engages in a complicated *re-deployment* and *re-narrativization* of its own historical resources and practices.

As a point of entry into my analysis of the BPM's current installation, I want to re-deploy Mieke Bal's conceptualization of museum space in terms of "chronotopos" rather than "site specificity"—a distinction that, according to Bal, enables consideration of how both "[p]lace as well as time [...] are the occasions for a power struggle" in the production of museological meaning (155).[27] In her critique of the American Museum of

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[27] In this section of her book, Bal is speaking specifically about art museums. By challenging the notion of "site-specificity" with her concept of "chronotopos," Bal seeks to destabilize entrenched ideas regarding the work of art. In this vein, she argues: "[a]s it stands, the term [i.e. "site specificity"] ignores the temporal dimension, thus unwittingly reinforcing the transcendental, eternal value of 'the work' that must eternally stay where it is" (155). Bal's concept of "chronotopos" is also designed to take into account the historical contingency of the production of meaning in museum space and the participation of the spectator/visitor in the process of meaning-making. In the first chapter of her book, from which I subsequently draw theoretical points, Bal compares the differential narrative processes of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Museum of Natural History in New York City.

Natural History (AMNH) in New York City, Bal argues that the representation of nature via dioramas and taxidermic specimens presents a "story [...] of fixation and the denial of time" (16). Thus, for Bal, the "chronotopos" of the AMNH is contoured by a space that is "transfixed in stasis," a space in which temporality has been evacuated altogether (16). In contrast, I want to suggest that a different kind of "chronotopos" is operative in the Banff Park Museum. Rather than entirely stopping time or creating a temporal vacuum, the BPM puts time-warping and time-travel into play throughout the spatial layout of the installation in order to provoke affective responses and to encode an ideologically-loaded narrative regarding the heyday of colonial expansion on the western frontier.

One hundred years after the Banff Park Museum was built along the banks of the Bow River, it continues to display mostly the same collection of taxidermic specimens to visitors. Rather than present itself as an active natural history museum engaged in the work of expanding and re-organizing its displays, the BPM frames itself as "a museum of a museum"—a museum that ostensibly preserves a prior state of museological theory and praxis by freezing its installation in the image of the past. Although the BPM claims to function as a kind of time capsule that can transport visitors back to the turn of the twentieth century, the museum's tactics of temporal manipulation are much more complex and compromised. Specifically, the BPM attempts to mimic itself as it once stood a century before while simultaneously offering a kind of postmodern meta-commentary regarding its own historical evolution. In so doing, the BPM frames itself in a *mise en abyme* structure (most noticeable in the French translation, "a museum-*in*-a-museum") that refracts its current display strategies onto the past, thereby constructing an alibi for perpetuating the exhibition and consumption of taxidermy—and the colonialist ideology that contoured it—in the present tense.

As it currently stands, the Banff Park Museum is a two-storey building with an installation that begins on the first floor and continues upstairs. The first floor is connected to the space directly above it by virtue of an opening in the ceiling that serves as a mezzanine gallery on the second floor. Directly above this overlook is a much smaller lantern storey comprised of windows that allow light to filter down to both the second and first floors. Upon entering the museum, the visitor immediately steps into the main room, filled with taxidermic specimens in display cases and larger dioramas, while the eye is drawn upward to the stuffed animal heads adorning the overlook on the second floor and the walls of the lantern storey even farther above it. A large proportion of the museum's entire collection therefore is visually accessible upon entrance into the building, confronting the visitor with a striking scene of nature's supposed variation and superabundance [Figure 6].

Positioning itself in sharp contrast to the more sterile and uncluttered spaces of museums today, the Banff Park Museum's interior is re-finished in early twentieth-century style: walls lined with Douglas fir panelling and rooms filled with an eclectic assortment of specimens are designed (as a promotional brochure suggests) to "evoke a rustic and romantic alpine atmosphere" ("Banff Park Museum" 3). Moreover, the BPM attempts to distinguish itself from more modern and formal natural history museums via diverse strategies of display, mixing glass display cases filled with specimens in an ordered taxonomic structure with large dioramas which attempt to present taxidermic specimens surrounded by representations of their "natural" habitat.[28] The BPM also displays animal skins and trophy heads in the "open air"—liberated from the confines of glass cases—in a way that is reminiscent of a hunting lodge as opposed to a modern museological institution. Collectively, these display strategies encourage visitors to feel as though they have, upon entering the building, stepped back in time to a "rustic," eclectic, and idiosyncratic mountain museum of a bygone era [Figures 7 and 8].

Upon closer examination of the display cases, the museum's representation of time becomes even more complex. Many explanatory panels affixed to, or encased behind, the glass display cabinets quote excerpts from Harlan Smith's 1914 *Handbook* as a way of identifying specimens and explaining the museum's collection policies and methodological approaches during the early twentieth century. These excerpts are framed within quotation marks and the title and date of the source is cited at the bottom of the panel.[29] According to narratological theory, the use of quotation marks mediates statements via a form of "attributive discourse"—a discourse that both "attributes the quotation to a speaker" and "qualifies the quotation's content" (Bal 37). In this context, the BPM's self-conscious framing of Harlan Smith's words within quotation marks effectively "attributes" this commentary to an historical persona. Moreover, the combination of the quotation marks and the dated source listed on the bottom of the panel

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[28] Explanatory panels in the museum as well as informational pamphlets about the museum credit Harlan Smith with the introduction of habitat dioramas circa 1914—a display style that was considered innovative at the time (Gin 5). The significance of these varied display strategies will be discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter.

[29] An example of such a quote from Smith's *Handbook of the Rocky Mountains Park Museum* is his description of the "Canada Goose" in the bird collection on the first floor. On a typed panel near the goose specimen, the following quote appears: "they are always eagerly looked for in the spring, for their arrival is a sure indication that the backbone of winter has been broken." While providing so-called zoological information, the quote also carries the emotive weight of a "pioneering" perspective on life on the rugged frontier.

"qualify" this commentary as part of a past discourse that, although reiterated in the present, is bracketted or displaced from it. As a result, these framing strategies produce a kind of distancing effect that underscores the passage of time rather than supposedly freeze-framing history inside the museum. In so doing, the BPM seeks to reinvoke the voice of Harlan-Smith, but precisely as a voice of the past—a voice that is separated from the practices of today in a way that produces nostalgia and yet also works as a convenient disclaimer for Parks Canada in the present.

As the visitor moves further along the display on the first floor, the written expository panels become more explicit in their attempt to register an historical distance from that which they are representing. For example, beside the taxidermically-preserved specimen of a "Coopers Hawk," the circumstances of the animal's death are described in the following terms: "This Coopers Hawk, and many other of the museum's birds, died by flying into the windows of the old Cave and Basin building. The new windows have silhouettes of falcons on them to deter most birds from coming near the glass" (*BPM*).[30] This commentary attempts to assuage the historical guilt of taxidermic collection by suggesting that the production of the museum's specimens was a judicious and economical form of animal re-use rather than violent wildlife consumption. Although the Coopers Hawk was purportedly obtained by recycling a corpse from an "accidental" death, the majority of the museum's specimens were not the products of such "happy" accidents. While the caption attempts to dismiss any past culpability for wildlife consumption, it also inscribes a *telos* of conservational progress that seeks to distance current Parks Management from a problematic past that has just been disavowed. Posted in a display case chock full of bird corpses, this disclaimer regarding the Coopers Hawk is semantically redundant and yet logically insufficient to account for the museum's stockpile of taxidermy. The disclaimer's anxious rhetorical overkill therefore momentarily belies the museum's concern about its fraught relation to the natural environment. Moreover, by reducing the problems of wildlife exploitation in the Banff environs to the accident-factor of glass windows (an accident-factor that dissimulates the role of human agents), the caption trivializes the matter of wildlife protection even as it purportedly expresses self-reflexivity about conservation concerns in the current cultural and political climate [Figure 9].

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[30] From this point on in the chapter, whenever quotations from written panels in the Banff Park Museum installation are cited, they will be denoted with the following parenthetical reference: (*BPM*).

At the far-left corner of the main-floor display, a staircase leads up to the second floor mezzanine gallery. As the visitor ascends the stairs, s/he is confronted with a series of black and white photographs of the museum's exterior over the past century. The first photograph, from 1905, displays the Banff Park Museum's "railway pagoda" architecture while pedestrians walk across the front lawn, dressed in turn of the century hats and apparel. Further up the stairs, the second photograph comes into view: dated 1918, it depicts the museum's exterior from a similar front-lawn vantage point. Instead of pedestrians, however, the scene includes an automobile—reminiscent of the early Ford models—parked beside the building. Toward the top of the staircase, the final photograph in the series, dated 1956, depicts the similar exterior view of the BPM while a more modern, 50's style car is parked next to the front verandah. Read in sequence, the three photographs function as a triptych that tells the history of the museum's own evolution during the first several decades of its operation. Here, the index of change is not the evolution of nature but, rather, the progress of culture—as specifically registered via the sign of the automobile.[31]

The triptych of photographs positioned along the staircase does not, however, inscribe a completed narrative punctuated at the top of the steps. Instead, the landing on the second floor is semiotically charged as a kind of threshold space that links the museum's black and white history to an unfolding story about the evolution of the BPM in a postmodern era. As the visitor ascends the stairs, s/he moves from the darkness of a corner staircase to the light of a mezzanine level illuminated by the large lantern windows positioned above. In this sense, the installation capitalizes upon the structural movement from dark staircase to bright mezzanine by framing the second floor display as a passage into the "new perspective" of postmodern self-reflexivity. While the first floor of the museum displays taxidermic specimens in glass cases and larger habitat dioramas in the mode of early twentieth-century science, the second floor installation intensifies its historical meta-commentary regarding the evolution of the BPM. To facilitate this process, the mezzanine-level installation is divided into several distinct sections, each denoted by a rough-hewn wooden sign suspended from the ceiling. Moving clockwise from the top of the stairs, the sections on the second floor are organized according to the following titles: "A Museum of a Museum," "Cabinets of Curiosities," "Office: Curator of Museum," "Beyond the Boundaries," and "The Zoo and Aviary." In each of these sections, the written panels more explicitly discuss the museum's past in a narrative voice that attempts to bespeak historical distance and self-reflexivity [Figures 10 and 11].

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[31] The history of the colonization of Banff largely hinges upon increments of technological development in the region. For instance, in *The Department of the Interior Annual Report* for 1904, Superintendent Howard Douglas argued that the success of the development of Banff required "the immediate construction of a modern sanitary system in the village" (7). Moreover, during the same year, Douglas announced another milestone in the "civilization" of Banff—that of the installation of electricity in the town (Douglas, 1904, 7). Initiated in conjunction with support from the Canadian Pacific Railway, the federal government invested in electricity infrastructure as a crucial means of settlement. Arguably the most significant development in the civilization of Banff was the construction of roads and the opening of the Park to motor vehicle traffic. In 1909, construction on the Calgary-Banff highway began and by 1911 it was completed. At this time, the federal government sanctioned the use of cars in the Park. It was not until 1915, however, that motor vehicles were allowed on the majority of the streets throughout the town and on the roads throughout the Park (Luxton 106).

Arriving at the top of the stairs, the visitor's line of sight is drawn directly ahead to the display section entitled "A Museum of a Museum/Un Musée Dans un Musée." In this portion of the installation, glass display cabinets similar to the ones filled with taxidermic specimens on the first floor are, this time, filled with more black and white photographs depicting the BPM's early days. Here, the panels also appear similar to those used downstairs, except for the crucial fact that instead of functioning as taxonomic labels, these placards describe the photographs and work to narrate not the history of nature but, rather, the progress of the museum as a technology of representation. This act of substitution—of "documentary" photo for visceral animal corpse—has profound ideological implications. Specifically, by substituting photographs of the museum in the place where specimens are conventionally displayed, the BPM reproduces the museum itself as its own object of preservation. In so doing, the BPM attempts to produce the effect of self-reflexivity in its own self-representation.

Beginning its supposedly self-reflexive narrative of museological evolution with a caption entitled "A Showpiece for the West," the "Museum of a Museum" exhibit attempts to demonstrate a critical consciousness by detailing the commercial interests that fueled the development of Banff and its natural history museum. Below the caption, a paragraph explains: "Building the railway had been costly and tourism was to make it pay. Banff was to become an attractive destination for wealthy travelers, complete with a spa, luxury hotel—and a museum that offered a convenient one-stop look at western wildlife" (*BPM*). Under the guise of self-reflexivity regarding the early investments in Banff's development, this placard adopts a hybrid rhetorical style somewhere between storytelling and advertising. In particular, the expository panel deploys the modern rhetoric of advertising (i.e. the reference to "one-stop look[ing]" that calls to mind the phrase "one-stop shopping") to re-narrate the past in a supposedly "catchy" way. Rather than serving to "modernize" the story of Banff's early development, this use of today's jargon effectively reads as a humorous form of anachronism that accentuates the historical distance of the town's colonial past, marking it as a quaint and simpler bygone era.

Further attempting to mark temporal and ideological distance between the Banff Park Museum of the early twentieth century and the BPM of the present tense, the "Museum of a Museum" display uses its discourse of self-reflexivity to address the incongruence of taxidermy and current conservation practices. Underneath a caption entitled "The Museum Today," a written panel notes: "This historic museum preserves an early attitude toward viewing wildlife in our national parks. Animals are no longer killed for display purposes. Today the emphasis is on protecting live animals and preserving their natural habitat" (*BPM*). While this meta-commentary seeks to articulate a narrative of conservationist progress, it also undermines the strategy deployed in some of the panels downstairs—namely, that of attempting to deflect the problem of taxidermic violence onto "accident" factors that overwrite decisive human culpability—by conceding that animals were once actively "killed for display purposes." Thus, despite the BPM's attempts to distance itself from the fraught logic of taxidermic conservation that hinges upon wildlife consumption, the insistent repetition of self-reflexive disclaimers results in momentary ruptures in the installation's master narrative. The particular story at stake here is one of neocolonial beneficence—of the rescue, rather than ravaging, of nature and the judicious supervision of natural resources for national prosperity and posterity. Although the museum labours to solidify this discourse and to eclipse any contradictions, the ongoing attempt to distance the BPM from the production of the very specimens it showcases consequently registers temporary breakdowns in the installation's logic. In this sense, the BPM ironically manifests its own anxiety regarding the ways that the continued exhibition of taxidermic specimens might engender new forms of consumption—and new forms of representational violence—in our current era.

Despite such moments of rupture, the Banff Park Museum proceeds to reinforce the meta-commentary of its own historical progress throughout the exhibit on the second floor. Across the room, on the wall directly opposite the "Museum of a Museum" section, another display is designated underneath a wooden sign marked with the caption, "The Zoo and Aviary." After describing the history of the Banff zoo between 1904 and 1937 and then detailing the types of "specimens" once exhibited there, the explanatory panel attempts to conclude its brief narrative with a paragraph entitled "Back to the Wild." Here, the text asserts:

> During the depression, there was a steady decrease in the numbers of park visitors. But more importantly, caged animals no longer seemed appropriate in light of the values expressed in the National Parks Act of 1930. Animals were released into the wild or given to other zoos. The cages were dismantled in 1937 after the last resident—Buddy the polar bear—was sent to the Calgary zoo. (*BPM*)

While admitting to an incongruence between the "values expressed in the National Parks Act of 1930" and the display of "caged animals," the reference to the "[in]appropriate" nature of such exhibition broaches the matter in relatively euphemistic terms and subtly diffuses the story of the zoo's closure across a dual consideration of economic and ethical values. Moreover, the display strategically occludes any discussion of the zoo's hazards to animal health and the deaths that occurred within this site. In the process of ostensibly confessing to historical problems in Banff's program of animal management, therefore, there is only so much that the BPM's meta-commentary is willing to concede.

In the broader context of the museum's second floor installation, the section describing the park's long-dead zoo and aviary performs a strategic function for re-contextualizing Banff's history of nature displays. Specifically, by positioning the "Zoo and Aviary" section across the room from the "Museum of a Museum" exhibit, the installation attempts to produce a kind of distance between the representational technologies of the natural history museum and the zoological garden. In so doing, the museum seeks to redeem itself by constructing a juxtaposition between the zoological display of living specimens and the museological reincarnation of taxidermic specimens. As a result, the BPM's supposedly self-reflexive meta-commentary disavows the historical affiliations between the zoo and the natural history museum, thereby overwriting the violent traffic in animal bodies which kept both sites in business during the early twentieth century. Moreover, the installation's strategy of juxtaposing the zoo and the museum denies the representational linkages between these two forms of nature display and, specifically, how both encode potent ideological messages regarding the extinction of frontier "wildness" and the triumph of colonial control.

The "museum of a museum" discourse inscribed throughout the BPM's installation hinges upon a manipulation of temporality that, I contend, is crucially related to the semiotics of taxidermy. Such tactics of time-warping are put into play in yet another display on the mezzanine level of the museum entitled "The Curator's Office." This exhibit centers upon a room that is blocked off behind a glass door and windows that serve as the front façade to a "Curator's Office" reconstructed to resemble Norman Sanson's historic workplace. Behind the barrier of glass lies a spectacle of the supposed everyday in the Banff Park Museum during the early 1900s. Here, Sanson's weathered botany and zoology books lie sprawled on an antique desk while a specimen in the process of being prepared for display lies on a shelf next to the front window. A handwritten sign on the door reads: "Gone up Sulphur." The seemingly makeshift note is explained in a plaque mounted to the left of the office, which narrates the story of Sanson's weekly climbs to the meteorological station on top of Sulphur Mountain. At first glance, the exhibit appears to be suspended in time—preserved in a taxidermic freeze-frame—waiting perpetually for Sanson to return from his mountain hike. When read in conjunction with the explanatory panel beside the display, however, this temporal suspension becomes complicated by the remark: "[i]f there were a museum ghost, it would certainly be Sanson's" (*BPM*). Here, Sanson is reincarnated as a spectre of history, a figure that has left and yet returned to the building, albeit in the ethereal sense of haunting. In this context, the display creates the "Curator's Office" as a kind of haunted house of history—a site where nostalgia is affectively inculcated not by strictly freezing time but, rather, by mourning a lost past. The semiotics of taxidermy at work in this display produce the illusion of a static monument to the past while simultaneously putting *time in motion* to register the poignancy of a bygone era. Instead of offering an objective account (as museums often claim to do) of Sanson's work, this display inculcates a nostalgia that sentimentalizes white colonial masculinity. Described as "Nature's Gentleman" in one of the BPM's promotional brochures ("The Banff Park Museum" 5), Sanson is deployed in the exhibit as the figure of "civilized" nature studies, thereby euphemizing the systematic colonial control of frontier wildness under the guise of one man's supposedly genteel and edifying relationship to the natural world. In this way, the re-staging of the "Curator's Office" as a scene from the museum's past works not to promote critical reflection regarding this period but, rather, to romanticize an era of colonial violence [Figures 12 and 13].

In her analysis of the American Museum of Natural History, Mieke Bal comments that "any museum of this size and ambition is today saddled with a double status; it is also a museum of the museum, a reservation, not for endangered natural species but for an endangered cultural self, a meta-museum. Such a museum solicits reflections on and of its own ideological position and history" (17). Continuing to theorize how a "meta-museum" could engage in processes of ideological and historical self-reflexivity, Bal suggests:

> The story that the museum could tell, and whose telling would make its present function so much more powerful, is the story of the representational practice exercised in this museum [the AMNH] and in most museums of its kind. This is the story of the changing but still vital collusion between privilege and knowledge, possession and display, stereotyping and realism. (49)

In the process of considering how a "meta-museum" could re-narrativize its installations in ways that would reveal the knowledge/power mechanisms it deploys, Bal implies that the American Museum of Natural History, in "its present function," does not make such a "story" clear. As a result, Bal argues that "[d]ifferent museums speak different fictions, but [...] what these fictions have in common is that they show their objects, not their own hand or voice. 'Showing' natural history uses a rhetoric of persuasion that almost inevitably convinces the viewer of the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon [...] culture [....] Showing, if it refrains from telling its own story, becomes showing off" (53).

While it is important to underscore the considerable differences between a major metropolitan research institution such as the AMNH and a regional tourist attraction such as the BPM, I want to suggest that the Banff Park Museum has re-deployed the discourse of the "meta-museum" in a complex and compromised attempt to preserve its own "endangered cultural self."[32] The particular way that the BPM re-articulates such a discourse, however, differs from the tactics that Bal describes in the AMNH. Specifically, Bal suggests that "[i]f only" the "act of storytelling and its subject were foregrounded more, the museum would be better equipped to respond to the expectations of a postmodern critique. It is ironic that natural history excludes history, and by that exclusion it excludes nature itself" (49). Rather than simply "excluding history," the Banff Park Museum attempts to freeze-frame the past while simultaneously marking the passage of time that produces nostalgia for the early days on the colonial frontier. In so doing, the museum deploys a postmodern meta-commentary regarding its own historical development as a technology of representation that, in the very process of performing self-reflexivity and purporting to "show its own hand" (as Bal puts it), effectively dissimulates the BPM's persistent relationship to neocolonial knowledge/power systems. As a result, the BPM's meta-commentary regarding its historical development effectively operates as a kind of alibi for *failing to address* "the story of the changing but still vital collusion between privilege and knowledge, possession and display, stereotyping and realism" upon which this natural history museum pivots. The meta-museum's supposed function of self-reflexivity therefore enables the BPM to skirt any rigorous investigation of the way that its installation mourns the loss of frontier wildness while simultaneously celebrating the triumph of national expansion and the "civilization" of the west.

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[32] In the wake of new tourism enterprises such as extreme sports and eco-tourism, the Banff environs has largely become a haven for sports enthusiasts. In the current climate, therefore, the Banff Park Museum's status as a tourist attraction occupies a far more tenuous position than it did in the early decades of the twentieth century.

Display and Discipline

The neocolonial knowledge/power systems at work in the Banff Park Museum shape the production of museological meaning in complex ways. The BPM inculcates a sympathetic nostalgia for colonialism's heyday on the frontier by soliciting museum visitors on multiple semiotic, somatic, and affective registers, of which the textual inscription of a master narrative on panels throughout the installation is only one. Accordingly, a critique of power's machinations throughout the BPM's installation space must carefully attend to the varied and yet inter-related dynamics through which the museum engages and influences its visitors. To begin to theorize such processes, I want to outline some of the key arguments expounded in Tony Bennett's important work, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics.* Complicating Foucault's study of power in European society throughout the last several centuries (as specifically outlined in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*), Bennett troubles Foucault's tendency to trace a distinct chronological shift from a society of spectacle to one of surveillance. Rather than temporally demarcating the work of spectacle and surveillance, Bennett argues that the operation of power in museum space pivots upon the "intrication" of "technologies of surveillance" with "forms of spectacle" (61). In this vein, Bennett postulates that the formation of the modern museum in the nineteenth century was largely defined by the development of what he terms "the exhibitionary complex"—a complex that hinges upon the coincidence and inter-relation of spectacle and surveillance. The exhibitionary complex of the modern museum, Bennett argues, produces "a more complex and nuanced set of relations through which power [...is] exercised and relayed to—and, in part, through and by—the populace than the Foucaltian account allows" (Bennett 61).[33]

Tracing the development of modern museums in the nineteenth century, Bennett argues that as a public space accessible to both the upper classes and the masses, the museum formulated "new technologies of behaviour management" that would discipline the crowd "into an ordered and, ideally, self-regulating public" (99). Many of the most effective "technologies of behaviour management," Bennett contends, "devise[d] ways of regulating the conduct of [its visitors that were…] both unobtrusive and self-perpetuating" (6). Building upon Foucault's study of the Panopticon and its implications for self-policing, Bennett argues that architectural changes in museum design resulted in structures whereby "the public could not only see the exhibits arranged for its inspection but could, at the same time, see and be seen by itself" (100-101). In this sense, the development of "elevated vantage points in the form of galleries" allowed the public "to watch over itself," thereby incorporating "a principle of self-surveillance and hence self-regulation into museum architecture" (101). At the same time that Bennett draws from Foucault's study of surveillance, his theorization of power's machinations in museum space attempts to reconsider the Panopticist disembodied eye in relation to corporeality and the constitution of *embodied*—rather than merely "seeing"—subjects. In this vein, Bennett theorizes museological discipline in relation to what he refers to as the establishment of norms of "bodily comportment" (100). Such norms, for instance, have been instituted in installation space via the development of architectural designs that necessitated "a new set of relations between space and vision" and that "organized" the "walking" of peripatetic visitors along "a (more or less) directed itinerary" (100, 179, 6). Recognizing that "visitors' experiences were realized via their physical movement through an exhibitionary space," the museum thus attempted to "regulate the performative aspects of [visitors'...] conduct" by directing their path (Bennett 6). By foregrounding bodily comportment in this way, Bennett refines the Foucauldian model, offering a more nuanced means of comprehending the embodied dynamics of disciplinary power in museum space.

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[33] In *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, Michel Foucault argues: "[i]n a society in which the principal elements are no longer the community and public life, but, on the one hand, private individuals and, on the other, the state, relations can be regulated only in a form that is the exact reverse of the spectacle" (216). Thus, Foucault concludes, "[o]ur society is one not of spectacle, but of surveillance" (217). Reading Jeremy Bentham's plan for the Panopticon prison, designed circa 1840, Foucault theorizes the development of a society of surveillance during the second half of the nineteenth century. In response to Foucault's chronological delineation between spectacle and surveillance, Bennett argues that both are operative in the workings of power in the modern museum. Bennett, however, is not the first scholar to complicate Foucault's too clear-cut demarcation. In his study, *The Techniques of the Observer: On Vision and Modernity in the Nineteenth Century*, Jonathon Crary argues that "Foucault's opposition of surveillance and spectacle seems to overlook how the effects of these two regimes of power can coincide. Using Bentham's panopticon as a primary theoretical object, Foucault relentlessly emphasizes the ways in which human subjects became objects of observation, in the form of institutional control or scientific and behavioral study; but he neglects the new forms by which vision itself became a kind of discipline or mode of work" (18).

At the same time, Bennett's emphasis on embodiment makes it necessary to begin thinking about the museological engagement of senses other than sight. Extending his consideration of bodily comportment, I want to analyze the powerful supplemental effects of other senses that are enlivened—often in complex and seemingly contradictory ways—in the production of museological meaning. In her essay "Objects of Ethnography," Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that there is a "fragmentation of sensory apprehension in conventional museum exhibitions" (416). The "European tendency," she continues, "has been to split up the senses and parcel them out, one at a time, to the appropriate art form," such as attributing aurality to the symphony or visuality to museological display, and so on (416).[34] In response, I want to suggest that while certain cultural institutions might appear to cater to the primacy of one particular form of "sensory apprehension," in the very process of "splitting up" or proscribing the use of other senses, those circumscribed senses are effectively *called into being*. Paradoxically summoned via prohibition, such "outlawed" senses are often manipulated by the very institutions that seem to dispense with them and, thus, are enlisted in the inscription of dominant discourses. To draw greater critical attention to the work of multiple sensory elements in museum space, I want to re-frame Bennett's theorization of the inter-implicated dynamics of spectacle and surveillance in museum space in terms of a related but more malleable conceptual pair: display and discipline. By shifting the debate to these terms, I seek to move beyond the optical focus necessarily inscribed by spectacle and surveillance as conceptual models of power. The critical doublet of display and discipline carries the traces of many of Foucault's ideas about power—its productivity, its dispersal, and its internalization by subjects—without necessarily reinscribing a dominant visualist hegemony. By examining power in terms of the dynamic work of display and discipline, I mean to create new possibilities for analyzing the involvement of *multiple* senses—namely, touch, smell, and sound, in addition to sight—in the production of museological meaning.

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[34] Jonathon Crary historicizes and theorizes the compartmentalization of senses and the hegemony of vision in the nineteenth century. In the wake of new "techniques of the observer" prompted by new visual technologies such as the stereoscope and the photographic camera, the 1800s also witnessed the "subsequent dissociation of touch from sight" as well as a more "pervasive 'separation of the senses' and industrial re-mapping of the body" (19). "The loss of the touch as a conceptual component of vision," Crary continues, "meant the unloosening of the eye from the network of referentiality incarnated in tactility and its subjective relation to perceived space. This autonomization of sight, occurring in many different domains, was a historical condition for the rebuilding of an observer fitted for the tasks of 'spectacular' consumption" (19).

The Banff Park Museum constitutes a compelling example of the ways that display and discipline may operate not merely through the domain of visuality but, more complexly, through varied forms of somatic engagement. The museum's solicitation of such compound corporeal interaction, in turn, is intimately bound up with the production of affective responses—namely, desires, feelings, and moods. As Foucault argues in *The History of Sexuality, Volume I*, biopower acts upon and within bodies to produce desire in particular ways and to camouflage the work of social construction under the guise of supposedly "natural" or "biological" responses.[35] Re-deploying Foucault's critique of the production of desire to a broader consideration of affect in its heterogeneous forms, I want to suggest that power in the BPM operates via the inter-connected workings of display and discipline that seek to solicit somatic and affective reactions to the installation. In so doing, I have sought to take affect seriously and to treat it as a form of coding that, although diffuse and complex, may be traced and analyzed with greater specificity than is often attempted. Too frequently in current theory and praxis, there is a tendency to *aestheticize affect itself* in terms of ethereal, abstracted force-fields. In the process, affect is *recognized* but not *analyzed in detail* as a dynamic and heterogeneous network of emotive and somatic codes that is integrally linked to dominant discursive or semiotic systems. A politically-engaged consideration of affect, I contend, should importantly seek to understand the relation between emotions, sensory apprehension, and the work of hegemonic discourses in locationally and historically specific contexts.

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[35] Speaking specifically about the discursive production of "sex" and the concomitant biopolitical construction of desire in the nineteenth century, Foucault asserts: "By creating the imaginary elements that is 'sex,' the deployment of sexuality established one of its most essential internal operating principles: the desire for sex—the desire to have it, to have access to it, to discover it, to liberate it, to articulate it in discourse, to formulate it in truth. It constituted 'sex' itself as something desirable" (156).

One of the most crucial affective responses that the BPM seeks to inculcate is nostalgia—an "acute longing" or a "sentimental imagining or evocation" (OED)—for colonialism's heyday in the wild west. Attempting to "evoke a rustic and romantic alpine atmosphere" (to recall the words of a BPM promotional brochures), the museum capitalizes upon its Douglas fir panelling and creaky floorboards and augments them with a panoply of mounted trophy heads, habitat dioramas, and taxidermically-preserved specimens locked in antique cases ("Banff Park Museum" 3). Newer additions to the installation are also designed to enhance this turn-of-the-century feel, such as the rough-hewn signs denoting each exhibit on the second floor. Almost Disney-esque in their effort to appear quaint, the signs belie the museum's self-conscious attempt to re-create the past in sentimentalized form. In this context, the BPM's rustic, log-cabin feel manipulates affective codes to inscribe a semiotics of nostalgia that seeks to romanticize an era of colonial violence as an adventurous history of white male heroics on the wild frontier.

In the case of the "Curator's Office" exhibit (discussed in the previous section), museological discipline operates in productive tension with the display of a past everyday in Banff in an effort to inculcate nostalgia for the colonial past. By enclosing the space of Sanson's re-imagined office behind an architectural façade built of wood and glass, the exhibit constructs a palpable physical limit to the very fantasy of participatory time travel with which the museum entices its visitors. Such a physical barrier to the world of the display attempts to regulate bodies and, in the very process of delimiting corporeal access, evokes desire for somatic and tactile access to the office's books, old wood furniture, and handwritten notes. By marking off the "Curator's Office" as a sealed time capsule, the BPM seeks to inculcate curiosity in its visitors and to elicit a desire to open the door and become part of a strategically romanticized past supposedly epitomized by the victory of colonialism in the west and the concomitant triumph of white male mastery over nature.

In other sections of the installation, the BPM implements alternative strategies of display and discipline. For example, in contrast to the "Curator's Office," other exhibits feature animal skins and trophy heads without the protective barrier of glass display cases. At the top of the stairs on the mezzanine level, the visitor is immediately confronted with a bear skin pinned up against the wood-panelled walls and designated as yet another museological specimen with a taxonomic label that reads: "Grizzly Bear/Ursus Arctos." The skin is cordoned off by a burgundy velvet rope system reminiscent of displays in more formal museums and art galleries. While the rope system is flimsy and ineffective as a physical barrier preventing visitors from approaching the object on display, the burgundy rope's association with formal museum spaces carries with it the learned behaviours of decorum—or the "norms of bodily comportment" and "public manners," in the words of Bennett (100)—that such institutions have ingrained in their visitors. A written panel supplements the prohibitive function of the velvet rope system by supplying the only explicit directive regarding proper conduct around this exhibit. Couching a textual injunction in the rhetoric of a polite request, the sign states: "Please do not touch the animals!" Both the ropes and the placard hinge their efficacy upon a logic of museological decorum that visitors internalize and then reproduce in order to police themselves and others [Figure 14].

At the same time that the sign and the ropes discipline visitors to keep their hands at their sides, however, such museological prohibitions of the use of touch effectively call this form of sensory apprehension into being. Whether the visitor actually transgresses the "hands-off" prohibition or not, s/he engages in an imaginary (and also potentially "real") tactile relationship with the bear skin. The museum installation further attempts to inculcate desire for tactile contact with its exhibits by foregrounding the building's rustic alpine atmosphere. The image of a fur pelt stretched across wood-panelled walls fuses the space of the museum with the scene of a frontier trading post, a factor that confuses the codes of conduct and seeks to tempt the viewer into somatic engagement. The status of animal fur in Western culture as a powerful "commodity, anthropologic, and sexual" fetish object—rather than a conventional object of museological display—also invites tactile forms of engagement with the bear skin (Emberley 18). This "sensational tactile value of fur," Chantal Nadeau argues, is integrally bound up with dominant discourses regarding "the social and historical encounter between skins and pelts," between white men and so-called frontier wildness, that are vital components of Canada's national imaginary and its past political economy (7, 9). More than just an object for distanced visual consumption, then, the bear pelt becomes a kind of corporeal "touchstone" for visitors that serves to sentimentalize the era of so-called colonial heroics. [36]

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[36] In chapter three of *The Cultural Politics of Fur*, Emberley engages in a detailed critique of fur's status as commodity, ethnographic, and sexual fetish objects in nineteenth-century European culture and its relation to gender and race via a reading of Leopold von Sacher-Masoch's novel *Venus in Furs*. Nadeau's compelling work, *Fur Nation: From the Beaver to Brigitte Bardot*, specifically analyzes fur in relation to the Canadian nation and its fraught symbol of the "beaver" as animal emblem of the nation and as sign of female corporeality. In this context, Nadeau reads fur and skin in relation to feminist and queer politics, arguing that "the concept of the fur nation does not so much respond to an Andersonian 'imagined community' as to a careful regime of circulation and commodification of female skin as a national resource and desirable subjectivity" (1).

On the other side of the staircase on the second floor, the same signage—announcing "Please do not touch the animals!"—is posted along a wall that displays a buffalo head cordoned off with a similar burgundy rope system. The buffalo is mounted on the wall at a relatively low height, making physical contact with the animal all the more possible and a face-to-face engagement with the taxidermically-preserved head that much more immediate. Beside the trophy is a textual panel entitled "The Patriarch" which articulates a referential link between the head mounted on the wall and the buffalo that were once held as living specimens in the animal paddock. In particular, the panel tells the story of the herd's "patriarch," named "Sir Donald" after his beneficent human donor Sir Donald A. Smith, Lord Strathcona ("The Animal Corrals" 1). Here, the explanatory panel relates the ostensibly bittersweet story of a noble bull who led the herd for many years until his death in 1909. While it might be tempting to read the narrative of Sir Donald as a kind of anthropomorphism, the display effectively marks the distance between Lord Strathcona and his animal donation by emphasizing the comical effect of writing the "biography" of an animal. In this way, the supposedly humorous display reinforces the colonialist hierarchy of white man's supremacy over nature. In particular, "The Patriarch" vignette serves to resuscitate a past era in which white masculine virility was proven via the taming of the animal other and the colonial management of the nation's purportedly unclaimed natural resources [Figure 15]. [37]

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[37] In contrast to the bear skin and buffalo head displays that seek to prohibit the use of touch, there is one space in the BPM that explicitly allows a greater range of corporeal interaction with the building and its objects. The "Discovery Room" in the basement is a site that is physically separated from the rest of the installation, marked off as a place where "children can explore Banff's natural history through hands-on activity [with…] games, puzzles, picture books, animal pelts and videos to make learning fun!" (Gin 16). The "Discovery Room" is not very well publicized nor does it seem to always be open for visitor use. During a meeting with Parks Canada site manager Steve Malins on 5 August 2003, I requested to view the "Discovery Room" repeatedly but Malins did not seem to want to show it. Although Malins did not really explain his hesitation, I felt that the implicit reason was related to his sense that the "Discovery Room"

In both the bear skin and buffalo head displays, the panels stating "Please do not touch the animals!" attempt to phantasmatically eclipse the difference between violently truncated animal parts and "living specimens." Echoing the rhetoric of the zoo and animal paddock (as articulated in Harlan Smith's *Museum Handbook*)—the now outlawed nature displays of Banff's past—the sign attempts to re-create the experience of the tourist's encounter with live animals that has become increasingly rare in the current frenzy of commercial development in the region. Although it remains unclear as to whether the taxidermic specimen on display is actually the head of Sir Donald himself (and it most likely is not, as Sir Donald is rumoured to be displayed in the Banff Springs Hotel), the trophy head exhibit in particular deploys the object of a wide-eyed buffalo as an affective device for imaginatively reconstructing the visitor's interaction with the animal other of Banff's past. In the process of attempting to reconstruct such an encounter, however, the museum's own logic temporarily breaks down. Specifically, the reinvocation of the zoo and animal paddock risks foregrounding the complicity between these nature displays and the natural history museum in a way that destabilizes the BPM's own meta-commentary of historical progress—its discursive attempt to differentiate itself from other, supposedly more problematic, forms of nature exhibition.

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broke with the historical "accuracy" of the rest of the museum as a turn-of-the-century period piece. The "Discovery Room's" promise of tactile contact with animals pelts and horns (as demonstrated by a photograph in the same promotional guide depicting a mother and child playing with such objects) suggests that greater ranges of corporeal interaction with museum objects are reserved for the purposes of children's education. In a similar way, the "Biodiversity Exhibit" at the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) (as I visited it on 3 February 2003) allows children to touch a few taxidermic specimens and to explore the "natural world" in a more hands-on way. A related strategy is also employed at the Harvard Museum of Natural History (as I visited it on 9 May 2004) where, during educational presentations for the young, children are invited to touch taxidermically-preserved animals. These examples point toward an increasing trend that I have noticed in recent installation design whereby interactive or explicitly multi-sensory exhibitions seem to be sanctioned for pedagogical purposes aimed at children. Touch, smell, and sound, then, seem to be used to cater to children's ostensibly less sophisticated interactions with museum space. Adults, however, are still expected to rely on the interpretive powers of vision to negotiate installations in supposedly more sophisticated ways.

While the bear skin and trophy head displays attempt to solicit an immediate visceral response from visitors, another exhibit on the mezzanine level of the Banff Park Museum conversely seeks to mark a physical barrier between visitors and its objects of display that is also distinct from the strategies employed in the "Curator's Office." Positioned in the corner diagonally opposite the staircase to the second floor, there is an exhibit entitled "Cabinets of Curiosities/Objets Bizarres." Here, in an anachronistic move, the BPM temporarily ruptures its faithfulness to Victorian anthropology by including a display paradigm from an earlier period—namely, that of the "cabinet of curiosities."[38] As a sixteenth- and seventeenth-century precursor to the modern museum, the cabinet of curiosities constituted a more idiosyncratic form of collection that often aspired to the impossible ideal of universality—of collecting and representing everything (Impey and MacGregor 1). The inevitable failure of these aspirations, however, frequently prompted new criteria for accomplishments in collecting. Discussing cabinets developed by Italian naturalists, Giuseppe Olmi argues:

> It must be noted that the naturalists' attitude was not altogether neutral with regard to the objects placed in their museums. Their programme certainly provided an inventory of the natural world in all its manifest forms, and their scholarly research was also directed towards more common animals and plants [...]; yet the love of rarity, the typically Mannerist taste for the bizarre and the unusual object [...] reasserted itself [....] It was the rare, outlandish piece which immediately conferred status on a collection and spread its fame beyond the scientific world. (8)

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[38] Bennett argues that the "initial challenge to the principles of curiosity [...] came from the changing focus of natural history displays which, through the eighteenth century, came increasingly to accord priority of attention to the normal, the commonplace and the close-at-hand at the expense of the exceptional and the exotic" (41). In this vein, Bennett marks the cabinet of curiosity as a display strategy that historically preceded Victorian anthropology's techniques of cataloguing, ordering, and displaying specimens.

Although the history of the cabinet of curiosities is far more heterogeneous in detail than a brief treatment here may demonstrate, Olmi's analysis does indicate collectors' recurring interest in the exotic or rare—an interest which has, accurately or not, resulted in popular understandings of these cabinets, alternately referred to as the "closet of rarities" and the "Wunderkammer," as showcases for the bizarre (Impey and MacGregor 1).[39] It is such popularized connotations that, I contend, the Banff Park Museum accentuates (especially in its French translation as "Objets Bizarres") and capitalizes upon in its display.

Engaging in a kitschy and unsophisticated mimicry of the "Cabinets of Curiosities" display style, the exhibit on the second floor of the BPM presents its objects tightly sealed away in glass cabinets, not cordoned off by flimsy rope systems or hung in the open air. As an historical preamble to the display, a textual panel asserts: "Over the years, the museum became a repository for odd collections. Local residents donated many strange items and these, as long-term residents of Banff still recall, were always favorites with visitors" (*BPM*). Here, the discourse of museological surveillance takes on the tone of condoning (and, more implicitly, inciting) visitors' delight in the abnormal or the bizarre that has been discovered in the Banff environs. Some of the centrepieces of the collection include a taxidermically-preserved albino ground squirrel (once a "living specimen" in the Banff zoo that was later judiciously "recycled") and a piece of petrified wood.

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[39] Several other essays in Oliver Impey's and Arthur MacGregor's anthology *The Origins of Museums: The Cabinet of Curiosities in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Europe* also suggest that the cabinet of curiosities often housed exotic or bizarre items. For example, in her empirical analysis of seventeenth-century cabinets, Wilma George argues that "[f]or the most part, the cabinet of curiosities was just what it said it was: odds and ends to excite wonder. Almost every collection had 'monsters' [i.e. deformed or bizarre specimens] in it" (185). Michael Hunter's essay on institutional collections in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century England argues that these collections "occupy an intermediate position between private cabinets and public museums" and, thus, are important for considering shifts in thinking about collection practices (159). According to Hunter, in this intermediate stage, the botanist Nehemiah Grew began to express discontent with "the cult of rarity which informed many virtuoso collections" often "dominated by the exotic and the monstrous" and began to push toward more ordered, catalogued, and representative collections (165). Such a shift, however, suggests that the earlier versions of cabinets of curiosities did emphasize the bizarre.

What is particularly significant about the "Cabinets of Curiosities" exhibit is that it is the only space in which First Nations materials or "artifacts" are currently displayed in the BPM. Neatly labelled and displayed within locked glass cabinets, this exhibit showcases an "Indian Hide Scraper," "Indian Awls," a "Pemmican Pounder," and a "Stone Pipe owned by 'Bull Bear'," a figure who is mentioned without any kind of biography and, thus, is treated more like an enigmatic aboriginal ghost than an historical agent (a point that is particularly ironic when one recalls that "Sir Donald" is accorded a biography) (*BPM*). It is important to underscore here that the specific collection of "Indian" objects displayed in these "Cabinets of Curiosities" are tools and objects with quotidian uses and familiar functions—a fact that makes their inclusion in an exhibit ostensibly devoted to the bizarre all the more ideologically malicious. By displaying aboriginal "artifacts" in this context, the installation effectively deploys these items as synecdoches of a spectacularized and homogenized native other. Here, categorizing terminology is key: while the "albino ground squirrel" in this exhibit is taxonomized in quite specific terms, the First Nations materials are classified via the totalizing rubric of the "Indian"—a rubric that carries the baggage of colonial stereotypes of primitivism, savagery, and animality.

In general, the inclusion of aboriginal objects in a natural history museum has insidious ideological implications. Categorizing indigenous peoples as part of the history of "nature" rather than the history of "culture" (a realm that is usually reserved for *white* culture) reinforces a crucial strategy of colonial discourse in general and the semiotics of taxidermy in particular: namely, the conflation of "aboriginality" and "animality." The relegation of these objects to the one section of the museum devoted to showcasing the "bizarre," however, complicates and intensifies the implications of this display. Specifically, the placement of aboriginal objects at the margins of this museum—in a second-floor corner exhibit demarcated for the abnormal—constitutes the eruption of the aboriginal presence that the museum now seeks to contain and repress. While many First Nations artifacts and objects were displayed in the Banff Park Museum during the early twentieth century, the majority were later transferred over to the Luxton Museum that opened in 1953.[40] As its name suggests, this museum was developed by Norman Luxton, local taxidermist and owner of the Sign of the Goat Curio Shop. Located directly across the Bow River from the Banff Park Museum, the Luxton Museum became the repository and showcase for the very aboriginal materials the BPM once thought were integral to its collection of "nature" and yet later sought to disavow. The remaining, marginalized objects of "aboriginality" contained within the "Cabinets of Curiosities" exhibit therefore constitute the absent presence, the haunting force, that points toward taxidermy's representational and material linkages to the colonial exploitation of indigenous peoples. In making this argument, it is important to underscore that I am in no way suggesting that there is an innate or natural relation between taxidermy and aboriginality; rather, I am seeking to defamiliarize and to hold accountable the way that colonial discursive formations have repeatedly inscribed representational linkages and implemented "management strategies" that have exploited "nature" and "natives," collapsed under the rubric of "natural resources." In this context, the "Cabinets of Curiosities" display in the

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[40] This information was provided during an interview on 5 August 2003 with Steve Malins, manager of the Banff Park Museum and Cave and Basin National Historic Sites of Canada.

BPM marks the return of the museum's (partially) repressed history of colonial violence through the complex, fractured, and deeply troubling representation of taxidermy's affiliations with indigeneity.[41]

The "Cabinets of Curiosities" exhibit also differs from the majority of the BPM's installation space vis-á-vis its corporeal and affective codes. While other displays try to inculcate visitors' engagement with objects in visceral ways, here, a strong physical obstacle to such somatic interaction works to discipline the visitor in particular ways. Specifically, the thick glass casings that enclose the "Indian" materials are not simply a barrier to touch; they also constitute a means of subjection, reproducing in the (white) visitor a "properly" detached subjectivity. In this context, the "Cabinets of Curiosities" encourage the visitor to gaze from afar and to view the "Indian" objects (and, thus, "Indians" themselves) as relics of the past, so close to the point of erosion that they must be hermetically sealed to prevent further decay. Moreover, by reinvoking well-known colonial stereotypes via the use of the rubric "Indian"—stereotypes which, according to Homi Bhabha, construct the colonized as "at once an 'other' and yet entirely knowable and visible" (71)—the display attempts to position the visitor as a distanced ethnographic observer in an illusory position of knowledge/power over the native other.

Despite these efforts to construct ethnographic distance in the presentation of aboriginal and "abnormal" objects, the "Cabinets of Curiosities" exhibit, as I have already suggested, encodes its own tensions. In addition to constituting a fraught scene of the repressed presence of "aboriginality," the display's emphasis upon the containment of objects and the affect of sterility it creates is, in some senses, contradicted by the display's very reference to "curiosity." Rather than signifying scientific detachment, the term "curiosity" suggests fascination and enthrallment—two deeply affective terms of engagement. Thus, while the BPM attempts to curtail somatic and affective interaction with the "Indian artifacts" via the use of glass display cases and sterile, monochromatic backdrops upon which the objects are mounted, the presentation of these materials within a section dedicated to the "bizarre" implicitly evokes fascination, rather than disinterest. As a result, the "Cabinets of Curiosities" display constitutes an important site in which the regime of colonial knowledge/power is ruptured by its own fetishistic enthrallment with native otherness and the haunting reminder of the colonial violence against nature and First Peoples the museum labours to disavow.

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[41] The Luxton Museum is now re-named the Buffalo Nations Luxton Museum and operated by members of the Buffalo Nations. This museum is a complex representational space that is deserving of sustained consideration. My research regarding this museum has not proceeded far enough to discern whether or not parts of the museum initially designed by Norman Luxton still remain on display, though Luxton's attitudes of patriarchal benevolence and white superiority still seem to haunt this space. My initial research into the operation of Luxton's taxidermy business, however, exemplifies a particular form of material relation between First Peoples and taxidermy in early twentieth-century Banff. Specifically, Luxton used many members of the Stoney reservation in Morley, Alberta to hunt animals for his taxidermy business. In the process, Luxton patronized these native hunters, often speaking to them like children and exploiting them as cheap labour (Drees 24).

My aim throughout this chapter has been to analyze how the Banff Park Museum encodes and reinforces its dominant narrative of colonial heroics on the wild frontier via discursive, somatic, and affective means. Moreover, I have also sought to think through the possibilities of where the museum's master narrative breaks down, to identify these moments of rupture and, thus, to point toward opportunities for further resistance to neocolonial and racist discourses. The preceding examples have also sought to demonstrate how the BPM is designed to interpellate its visitors as corporeal and affective subjects via the use of multiple forms of somatic engagement. At the same time, however, I want to hold open the possibility for differences in visitors' responses to the Banff Park Museum, as well as for the work of agency in interpreting and resisting the installation. In this context, I recognize that my critique is necessarily partial and that my reading of the dominant ways the museum solicits visitors is inflected by my own position as a Euro-Canadian scholar concerned with issues of gender, race, and neocolonialism.[42]

From this position of partial critique, I want to make explicit the implications that my analysis of the Banff Park Museum holds for conceptualizing the semiotics of taxidermy. In this vein, the BPM serves as an important case study for understanding the semiotics of taxidermy as a perpetually re-articulating structure of meaning that exceeds the limits of a strict science of signs. By linking the notion of semiotics to theories of affect, I seek to re-theorize the workings of both. In this vein, I contend that the semiotics of taxidermy involve a rigorous reading of the materiality of signs as well as the visceral and affective forms of interpretation and response they initiate. Such a theorization nuances the current visualist emphasis in semiotic and museological studies and, in so doing, argues for an expanded consideration of the way that a multiplicity of sign systems—from linguistic texts, to sounds, to textures, to the macabre objects of taxidermically-preserved specimens—call into being a variety of forms of sensory apprehension. By tracing the re-articulations of the semiotics of taxidermy, therefore, I seek to rigorously interrogate the polyvalent ways that colonial and neocolonial discourses are encoded on discursive, somatic, and affective registers to produce a powerfully sentimental narrative regarding the triumph of the white nation.

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[42] Pierre Bourdieu articulates a very specific argument for understanding how power operates in and through the construction of "bodily dispositions," or what he often refers to as the "habitus." According to Bourdieu, power works in and through bodies by producing corporeal responses that often masquerade as "natural" or "instinctive" but are, rather, socially-constructed. In this vein, Bourdieu argues: "[t]hus, being the result of the inscription of a relation of domination into the body, dispositions are the true principle of the acts of practical knowledge and recognition of the magical frontier between the dominant and the dominated, which the magic of symbolic power only serves to trigger off. The practical recognition through which the dominated, often unwittingly, contribute to their own domination by tacitly accepting, in advance, the limits imposed on them, often takes the form of *bodily emotion* (shame, timidity, anxiety, guilt)" (169). While I am not suggesting a complete correspondence between Bourdieu's theory of "bodily dispositions" (as expounded in *Pascalian Meditations*) and my consideration of power in the Banff Park Museum, Bourdieu's work offers important insights regarding the disciplining of corporeal and emotional responses.

Taxidermy's Transmogrifications

As the first case study in my dissertation, the BPM enables an analysis of the semiotics of taxidermy in one of its most conventional or expected locations—namely, the space of a natural history museum. In the popular Canadian imagination, taxidermy is (rightly or wrongly) generally associated with rustic mountain lodges, the hobby-shops of eccentric rural "folk," or museums of "nature" or even "anthropology." The Banff Park Museum effectively fuses these various spaces together to become the quintessential location for encountering "stuffed" animals. Despite the fact that taxidermy finds a most predictable home at this National Historic Site, I have sought to underscore how, even in a supposedly conventional setting, the semiotics of taxidermy are reinscribed in unexpected ways. By this, I mean to suggest that the semiotics of taxidermy cannot be reduced or restricted to the embalmed animal corpses with which they are commonly associated. Rather, they are recirculated across a variety of social texts.

A crucial example of taxidermy's transmogrifications is the way the Banff Park Museum attempts to manipulate temporality. Like the taxidermic specimens it houses, the museum pretends to arrest time and to suspend itself in the turn-of-the-century past. While the BPM purports to freeze itself in a static state, its complex rhetoric of a "museum of a museum" effectively sets temporality in motion, or puts it in play. In so doing, the BPM—under the rubric of a National Historic Site—actually marks the passage of time and registers it as loss in order to inculcate nostalgia for colonialism's heyday on the frontier. A critique of the BPM therefore demonstrates how the semiotics of taxidermy are reinscribed via the work of multiple technologies of representation, including museological installation space itself. Moreover, this example also suggests that while the semiotics of taxidermy encode the illusion of stasis, they are also intimately bound up with notions of mobility, of setting certain ideas or discourses in motion.

Even though the Banff Park Museum is largely filled with stuffed animals, the installation's inclusion of First Nations "artifacts" in the "Cabinets of Curiosities" exhibit demonstrates that the semiotics of taxidermy perniciously conflate the signs of "nature" and "natives." By preserving aboriginal materials alongside animal bodies, the BPM implicitly suggests that both species—relegated to the realm of nature—are threatened with extinction in the wake of white culture's supremacy. At the same time, the semiotics of taxidermy and their historical association with deeply fraught logics of conservation work to re-frame the Euro-Canadian nation's strategies of museological collection and display as benevolent acts of preservation rather than fetishistic acts of consumption. In this way, neocolonial discourses regarding the purportedly judicious protection of the nation's natural resources is reinscribed in relation to the management of "animals" and "aboriginals."

A detailed investigation of the Banff Park Museum therefore demonstrates that, rather than operating in a fixed location, on a fixed animal body, the semiotics of taxidermy travel, transmogrify, and take shape in relation to other technologies of representation. Instead of being only about the re-formation of animal corpses, the semiotics of taxidermy constitute a much more complex network of discursive and affective codes that both reinscribe and destabilize multiple technologies of preservation and reconstruction affiliated with colonial and neocolonial power structures. If taxidermy at the BPM is in one sense very familiar, it is also powerfully defamiliarizing, as I hope to have shown. In this vein, I want to suggest that "taxidermy" might stand for a much more nuanced and yet malevolent representational structure that, like the animals subjected to its transformative work, becomes reincarnated in new forms.

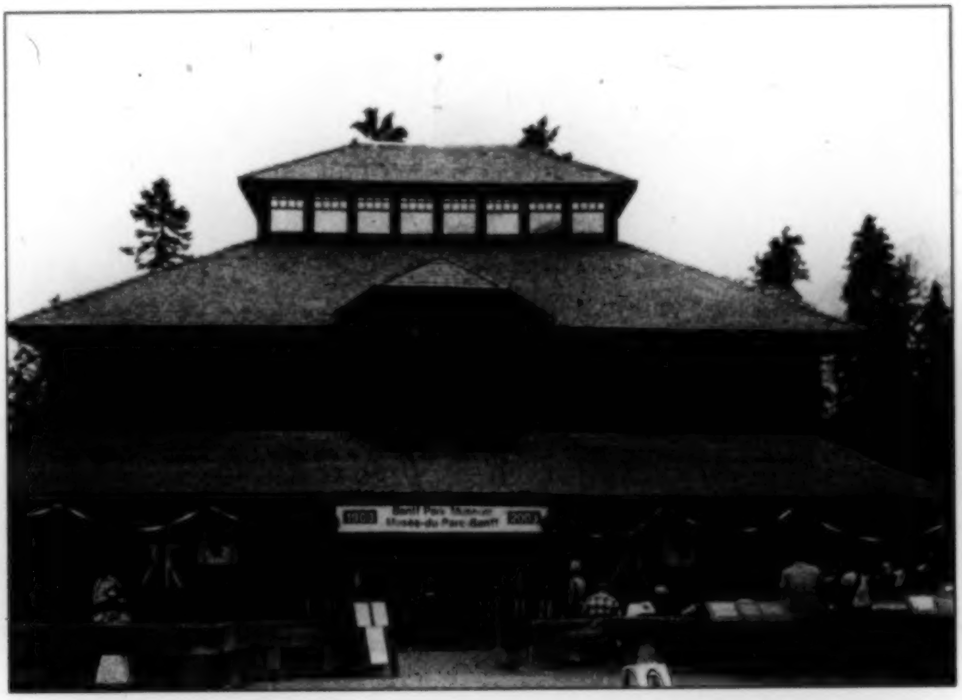

Figure 4: The exterior of the Banff Park Museum decorated for the re-opening ceremonies on August 4, 2003. Figures 1-6 and 9-12 were photographed by Pauline Wakeham. All Figures for Chapter One are reproduced with the permission of the Banff Park Museum National Historic Site of Canada and the Parks Canada Agency.

Figure 5: A close-up photograph of the front porch of the Banff Park Museum during the re-opening ceremonies. Here, a Mountie stands at attention in traditional dress while Mr. Rob Harding, Manager of Heritage Programs in Banff National Park, stands in the left corner.

Figure 6: A view of the lantern gallery of windows at the top of the museum that allows natural light to filter throughout the installation space. Mounted against the Douglas fir panelling are several taxidermically-preserved animal heads displayed in the "open air" instead of inside glass cases.

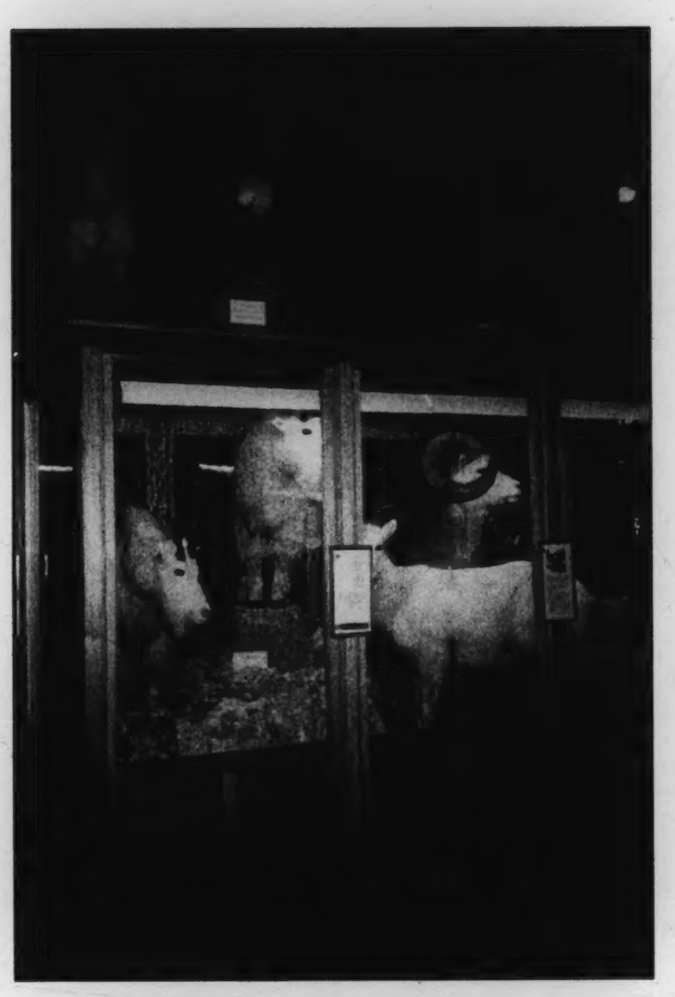

Figure 7: One of the central habitat dioramas displayed on the first floor of the Banff Park Museum. Positioned on top of the display case are additional taxidermic specimens released from the confines of glass cases, creating a dramatic effect.

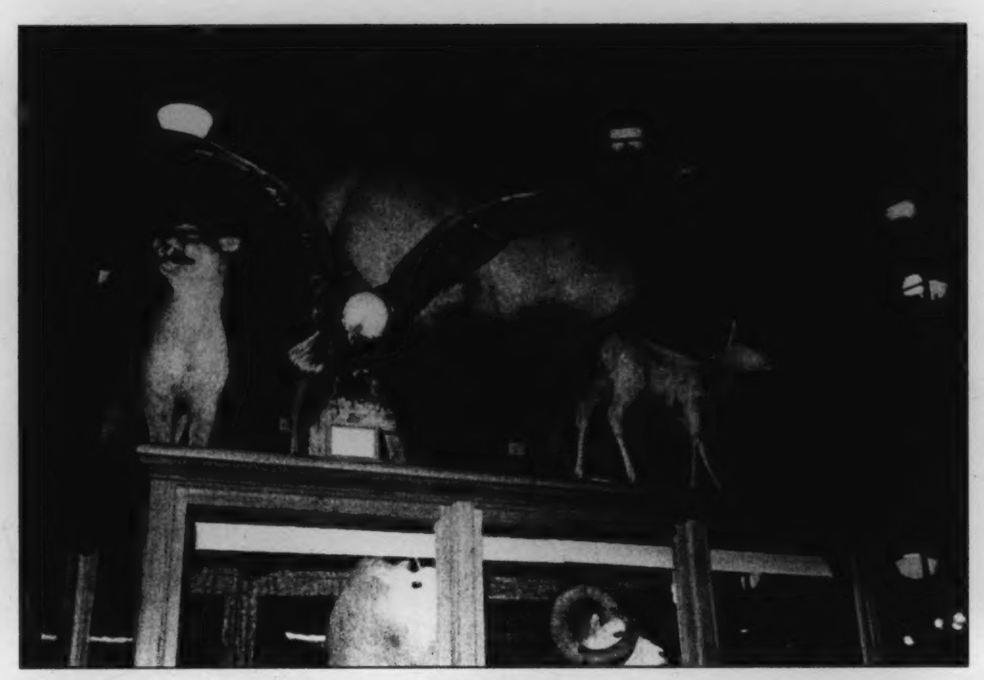

Figure 8: Another view of the taxidermic specimens displayed on top of the habitat diorama. In the background of this photograph, the overlook from the mezzanine storey is visible.

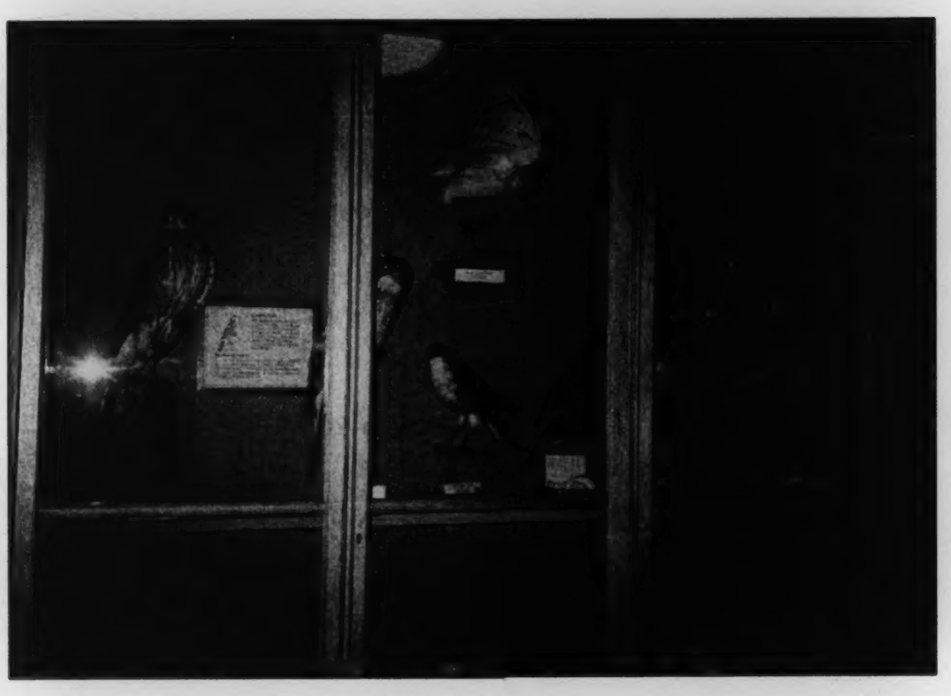

Figure 9: One of the many sterile display cabinets positioned on the first floor of the Banff Park Museum. Here, the work of ordering and taxonomization is evident. The specimen on the far left is the Coopers Hawk discussed in this chapter.

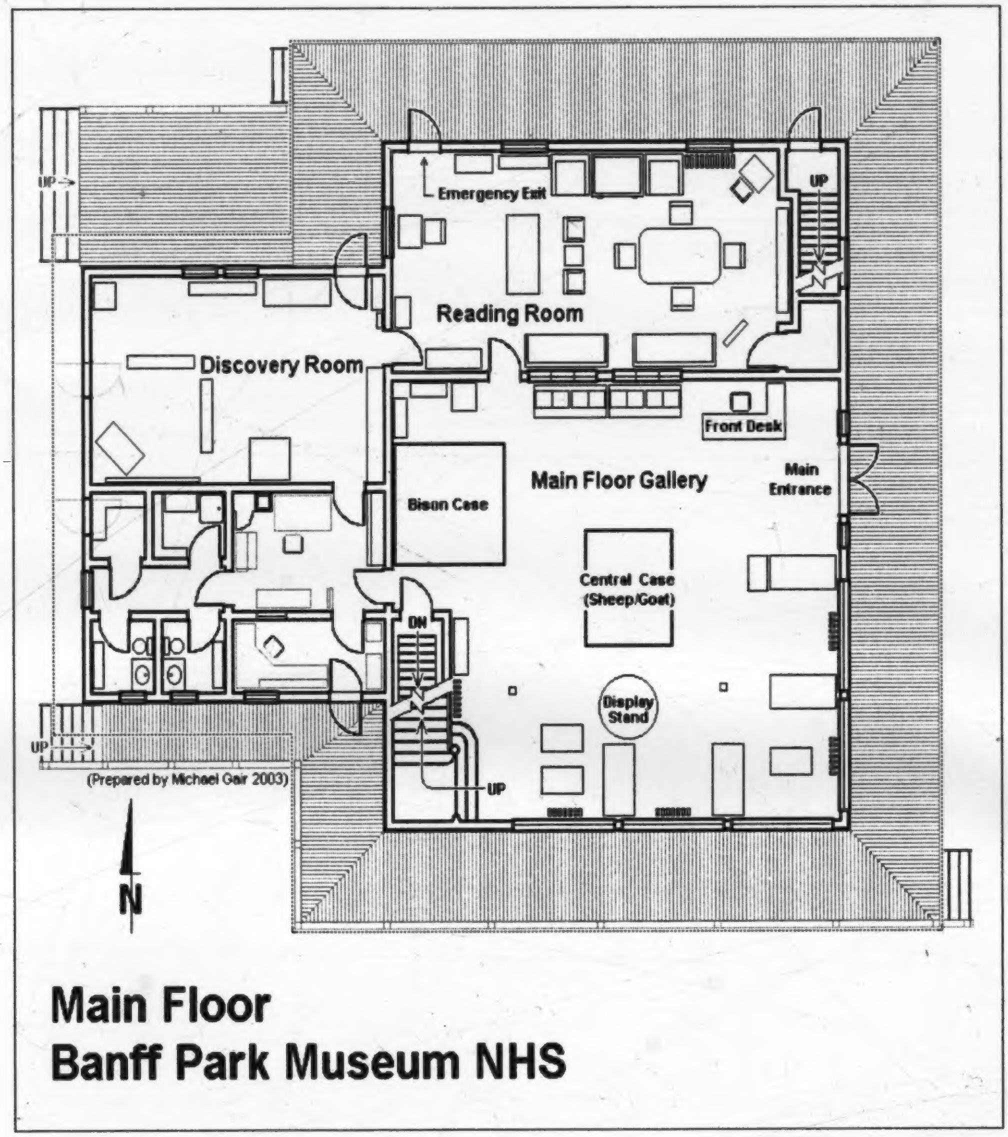
UP
Emergency Exit
UP
Reading Room
Discovery Room
Front Desk
Main Floor Gallery
Main Entrance
Bison Case
Central Case (Sheep/Goat)
DN
Display Stand
UP
UP
(Prepared by Michael Gair 2003)
N
Main Floor
Banff Park Museum NHS

Figure 10: A floor plan of the first level of the Banff Park Museum according to its current layout. Produced by Michael Gair, Parks Canada Agency.

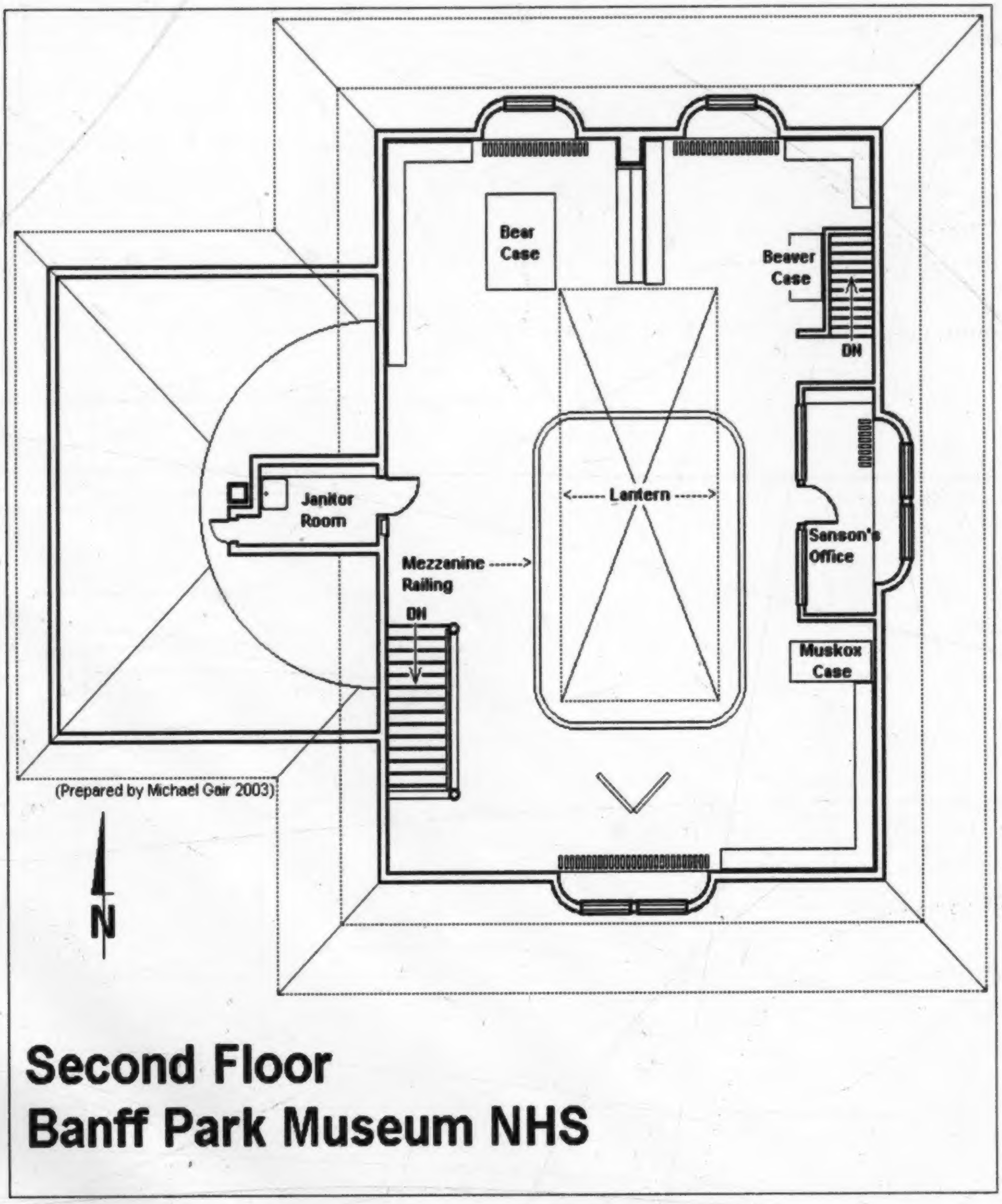
Bear Case
Beaver Case
DN
<------ Lantern ------>
Janitor Room
Sanson's Office
Mezzanine ------> Railing
DN
Muskox Case
(Prepared by Michael Gair 2003)
N
Second Floor
Banff Park Museum NHS

Figure 11: A floor plan of the second storey of the Banff Park Museum according to its current layout. Produced by Michael Gair, Parks Canada Agency.

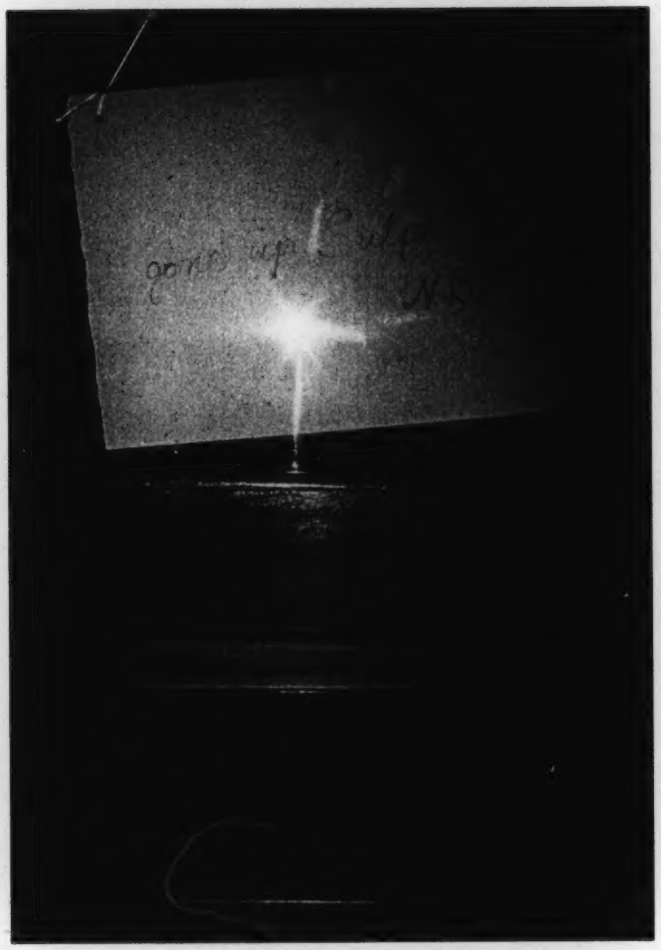

Figure 12: The door to the "Curator's Office" exhibit on the second floor of the installation. Posted behind the glass is the handwritten sign ostensibly left by curator Norman Sanson.

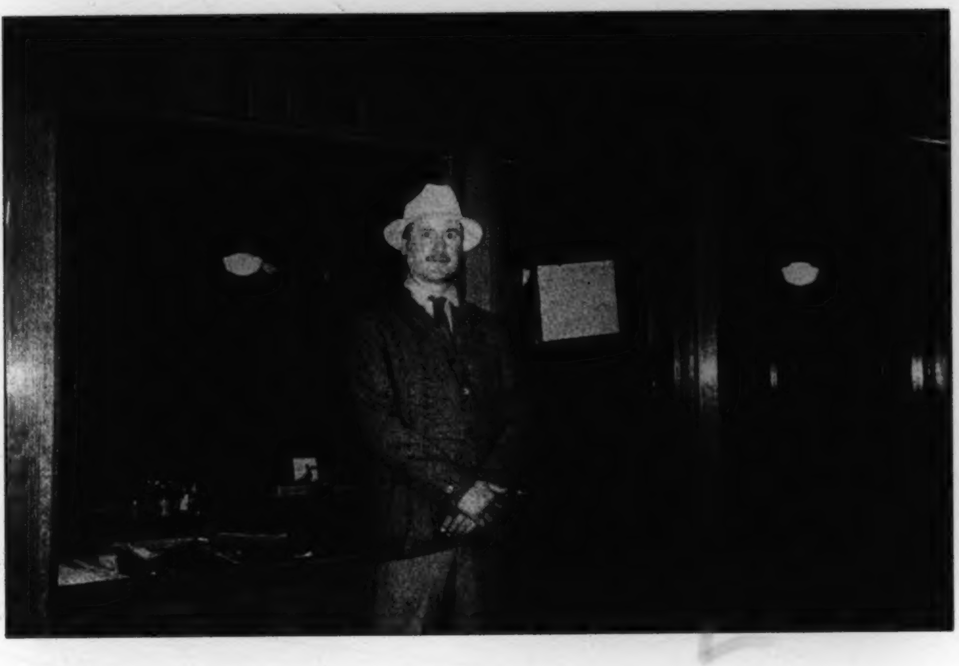

Figure 13: A photograph of a museum guide posing as Norman Sanson during the museum's re-opening ceremonies. Here, the pseudo-Sanson is stationed in front of the "Curator's Office" exhibit.

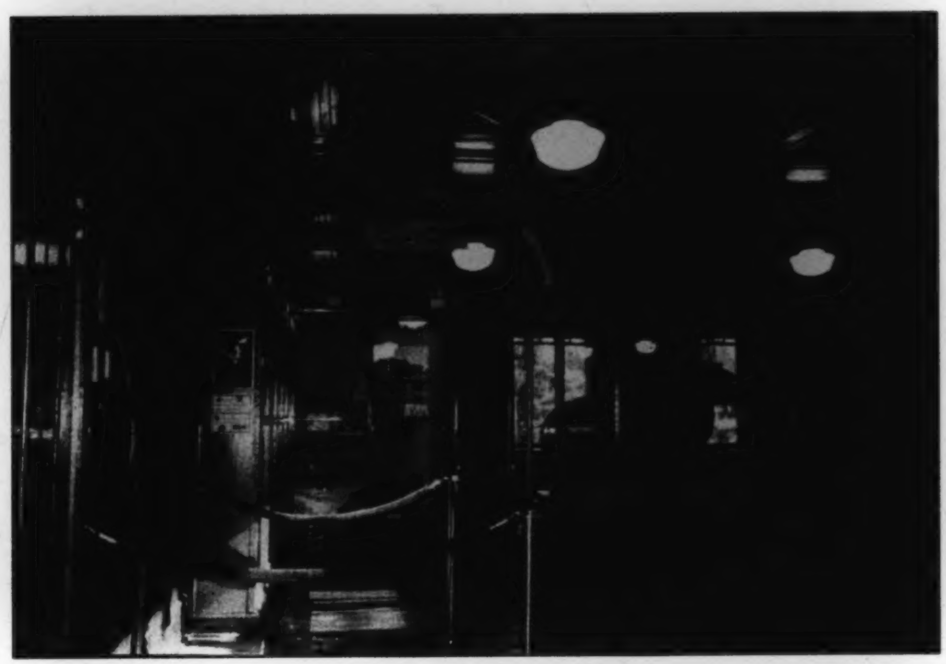

Figure 14: A view of the bear pelt cordoned off by velvet ropes on the mezzanine level of the installation. Further behind this exhibit stands the "Museum of a Museum" display.

Please
do not touch
the animals!
e touchez pas
aux animaux

Figure 15: A close-up of the stuffed buffalo head mounted to a wall on the second floor of the Banff Park Museum. Beside the head is one of the "Please do not touch the animals!" signs posted throughout the building.

Chapter Two
"Celluloid Salvage: Edward S. Curtis' Experiments with Photography and Film"[1]

In many early twentieth-century examples of anthropology's quest to capture and preserve so-called traditional aboriginality on celluloid, the semiotics of taxidermy are transferred from the animal corpse to a new form of "specimen"—namely, the racialized body of the native other. Effecting a shift from the "ethnographic animal" to the "ethnographic Indian," these photographic and filmic texts amplify the colonialist and racist investments of taxidermic representational practices. As a way of initiating an investigation into the ideological and political implications of taxidermy's semiotic translations onto native bodies via the production of ethnographic photography and film, this chapter will study the work of Edward Sheriff Curtis (1868-1952), one of the most well-known photographers of indigenous peoples circa 1900.

In the intensely problematic field of Euro-North American representations of the native other, Curtis' photographs have become canonical texts. Over the last several decades, there has been a proliferation of both scholarly publications and art exhibitions that have sought to critically re-view the work of photographers who, at the turn of the century, attempted to record the images of aboriginal peoples who were framed by colonial discourse as a "vanishing race."[2] Invariably, Curtis' work has become a staple of such critiques—whether the sole headliner or one amongst several photographers whose work is reassessed.[3] At the same time that critical interest in Curtis' images has multiplied over the last thirty years, however, so has uncritical popular enthusiasm for these nostalgic, romanticized photographs of the native other. As Vine Deloria Jr. remarks:

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[1] A version of this chapter has been accepted for publication in the *Canadian Review of American Studies*.

[2] The resurgence of critical interest in Curtis' work was largely fueled by the archival recontruction and subsequent recirculation of Curtis' 1914 film *In the Land of the Headhunters* by academics at the University of Washington in 1973. The reconstruction process and its effects will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

> If pictorial photographs go out of vogue, Curtis's images sell as anthropological documents. If anthropological documents are not in fashion, his images still appeal to fans of pictorialism and devotees of popular imagery of American Indians. Even those who cannot afford to buy original photographs and photogravures can choose from a remarkable array of reproductions of Curtis's work; [sic] in posters, books, portfolios, slides, and magazines. (17)

Showcased in coffee table books with celebratory, grand titles such as *Sacred Legacy: Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian*, *The Shadow Catchers: Images of the American Indian*, and *Edward Sheriff Curtis: Visions of a Vanishing Race*, oversized black and white or sepia-hued images tempt the reader with the promise of visual pleasure.[4] Moreover, Edward Curtis calendars and art postcards sold in the gift shops of the National Gallery of Canada and the Royal British Columbia Museum continue to validate these ethereal photographs of the ostensibly waning native with the seal of museological authority. Oscillating between the spheres of the ethnographic and the popular, therefore, Curtis' work continues to circulate with a vengeance in our current era. As a result, the increasingly complicated contexts and implications of its circulation demand ongoing interrogation. In particular, my investigation of how the semiotics of taxidermy are encoded throughout these images will seek to defamiliarize Curtis' now-ubiquitous illusions of "Indianness" by critically considering the forms of material and representational manipulation at stake in their production.

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[3] To mention just a few exhibitions from an extensive list will necessarily be a selective process, yet such an abbreviated list still points toward the range of cultural spaces exhibiting Curtis' photographs. In 1979, the Edmonton Art Gallery initiated a travelling exhibition that toured across Canada entitled "Edward Curtis in the Collection of the Edmonton Art Gallery." In 1989, the Seattle Art Museum held an exhibit named "Shadowy Evidence: The Photography of Edward S. Curtis and His Contemporaries." One of the major exhibitions for re-viewing Curtis' work was developed by the Smithsonian Institution Travelling Exhibition Service in 1982 entitled "The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: A New Look at the Work of Edward Curtis." As well, the Smithsonian Institution and the National Museum of the American Indian developed yet another exhibition held in 1999 entitled "Spirit Capture: Photographs from the National Museum of the American Indian." The published catalogues of all exhibitions listed here are cited in the bibliography of this dissertation. In addition to art exhibitions of Curtis' work, Iroquois/Onondaga photographic artist Jeff Thomas has produced his own artwork responding to and challenging Curtis' images. Part of this project may be found online in "A Conversation with Edward S. Curtis" at http://www.ccca.ca/c/media/thomas/curtis/project02.html. As well, Curtis' photography has received innovative critical attention in many scholarly texts including Gerald Vizenor's *Fugitive Poses: Native American Indian scenes of absence and presence*.

As a contemporary of Banff's patriarch Norman Sanson, a fellow believer in the cult of white frontiering masculinity, and a like-minded collector of aboriginal "artifacts," E.S. Curtis pursued mastery over nature not by the literal practice of taxidermy but, rather, by employing photography and film as technologies of taxidermic "preservation," technologies that sought to reconstruct the bodies of ostensibly extinct species in the guise of life.[5] In this vein, Curtis transformed himself from a self-taught nature photographer to a pseudo-ethnographic "documentarian" of native peoples—a shift that, according to colonial stereotypes of the wild and untamed "Indian," was hardly a shift at all. Later, a second transition in Curtis' career involved the move from photography to ethnographic filmmaking. Expanding his corpus to the realm of cinema, he believed, was a logical extension of an enterprise based on capturing ostensibly vanishing native lifeways and preserving them on celluloid. In 1914, Curtis' ambitions yielded a material product: the first narrative documentary produced in the field of early ethnographic cinema, a silent film entitled *In the Land of the Headhunters*.

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[4] *Sacred Legacy* also serves as the catalogue for an exhibition by the same name that travelled across Europe in 2001. The exhibition showcased the photographs from the private collection of Christopher Cardozo, who owns an art gallery specializing in originals and reproductions of Curtis' photographs. Cardozo's collection may be found online at http://www.edwardcurtis.com.

[5] Throughout this chapter I will theorize in greater detail how Curtis' photography and film function as taxidermic technologies. The chapter will demonstrate the distinct and yet crucially inter-related ways that Curtis' use of both still and motion picture cameras produced complex taxidermic effects that violently inscribed the spectre of death upon the very aboriginal bodies Curtis claimed to re-animate on celluloid.

While the overwhelming majority of critical scholarship regarding Curtis' work focuses on his photography rather than his film, when scholars do broach the relation between these two different textual forms in the Curtis corpus, they tend to theorize this relation as one of distinct contrast, inscribing a binary opposition between photography as a technology of "stasis" and film as a technology of "motion."[6] According to this schema, photographs are frozen images of time past, whereas film is a technology that preserves native bodies in motion. In resistance to such a critical bifurcation, I argue instead that Curtis' photography and film are inter-related in complex ways that necessitate a re-thinking of the very categories of "stasis" and "motion." By reading the Curtis texts in terms of the semiotics of taxidermy, I will seek to direct new critical attention toward the distinct and yet integrally related ways that photography and film manipulate both time and motion in order to produce inter-implicated *stasis* and *mobility effects*—overlapping, rather than diametrically opposed, *semblances* of stillness and motion. Theorized in reference to Barthes' reality effect, stasis and mobility effects simulate motion and its cessation in order to dissimulate underlying forms of ideological fixity and circulation that are key to colonial and racial discourses. For it is precisely via the manipulation of stasis and mobility that taxidermic technologies are able to freeze-frame the native other in an anterior temporal realm while simultaneously marking the so-called movement of Western progress. An examination of how the semiotics of taxidermy at work in Curtis' photography and film manipulate stasis and mobility will be crucial to defamiliarizing the racist fantasies encoded in these celluloid texts.

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[6] Such critical tendencies may be discerned in Holm and Quimby's *Edward S. Curtis in the Land of the War Canoes: A Pioneer Cinematographer in the Pacific Northwest* (85) and Fatimah Tobing Rony's *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema and Ethnographic Spectacle* (97). As well, in *Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian, Incorporated*, Mick Gidley plots the work of Curtis according to a *telos* of technological progress, tracing an implicit progression from Curtis' photographic work, to his production of a "picture opera" or slide show, and then to his production of a documentary film. At stake in this *telos* is the gradual move from stasis to motion in the pursuit of capturing images of what Curtis viewed as a vanishing race. A more detailed critique of such critical reception will be outlined later in this chapter.

"Hunting Indians with a Camera"

In 1908, an article entitled "Hunting Indians with a Camera" appeared in the American journal *The World's Work: A History of Our Time*. Writing to publicize the work of a friend, Edmond Meany, an historian at the University of Washington, valorizes "the adventures of Mr. Edward S. Curtis, who is devoting a large part of a working lifetime to making permanent records of our vanishing red-men" (10004). Problematically deploying the rhetoric of hunting to describe Curtis' photographic endeavours, Meany asserts that "[c]atching glimpses of [. . .] the Indian is an uncertain and often a dangerous" pursuit (10004). Thus, in an insidiously racist move, Meany's essay implicitly substitutes the ostensibly endangered species of "the red-man" for the animal as a new object of prey. At the same time, the article trades in the rifle for the camera and, in the process, underscores their powerful symbolic affiliation. If the gun has the capacity to literally stop life in its tracks, the camera holds the potential to visually freeze-frame life and, thus, "to transform the momentary into the permanent" (Brown 237). Not surprisingly, then, these two instruments have been fused together in the Western imaginary as technologies of "capture," technologies invested with the power to interrupt "life" and to manipulate its temporal dimensions.[7]

By playing on the discursive linkages between the gun and the camera, however, Meany's article also unwittingly encodes profound ambivalences that problematize the project of "Hunting Indians with a Camera." Specifically, by drawing an analogy between hunting and photography, the essay implicitly casts Curtis as an ambiguously doubled figure—as both predator and preserver of a "vanishing" race.[8] In this context, the article complicates the notion of photographic capture, signalling its potential to make "permanent records" of the "red-man" while simultaneously contributing to the consumption of the particular "endangered species" it purportedly seeks to save and conserve in black and white negative form.

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[7] One example of such a semiotic slippage between the gun and the camera may be found in Donna Haraway's analysis of the early twentieth-century work of Carl Akeley, a taxidermist and hunter affiliated with the American Museum of Natural History. Akeley founded the Akeley Gun Company and often described his weapons in ways that blurred the distinction between the gun and the camera (Haraway 43). Similar references to Edward Curtis' use of the camera may be found in an essay entitled "E.S. Curtis, Photo Historian," written by Sidney Allan in 1907. In this essay, Allan comments regarding Curtis: "Much could be said, I suppose, about his methods as a photographer, and the adventures of his various canvas wagon journeys when he is 'gunning with his camera'" (qtd. in Gidley 77).

[8] My reading of sport hunting is indebted to Mark Simpson's discussion of taxidermy and its relation to the ambivalent affiliations between hunting and conservation movements in turn-of-the-century North America. While my reference here points toward complex linkages between photography, hunting, and discourses of conservation, Simpson's essay "Immaculate Trophies" demonstrates in detail how for many white, upper-class sport hunting enthusiasts of the period, a fraught logic of conservation was key to preserving wild animal populations so that there would be ample stocks to hunt and kill in the future. My reference here to the analogy between hunting and photography is intended to complicate discourses and practices of photographic and filmic "preservation" and to suggest that, like the gun, the camera also engenders significant forms of violence that may lead to the consumption, rather than the conservation, of its captured objects.

The doubled predatory/preservationist tactics articulated throughout "Hunting Indians with a Camera" importantly link Edward Curtis' work to institutional narratives and praxes of the period, grouped under the rubric of "salvage ethnography." As the defining disciplinary orientation for early twentieth-century anthropology—that of "Franz Boas' generation"—salvage ethnography posited that native cultures were on the brink of extinction due to the collision of "primitive" society with modern Western "civilization" (Clifford "Of Other Peoples" 121). Because the disappearance of "primitive" lifeways was viewed as part of an inevitable evolutionary process, salvage ethnography asserted that anthropology's only recourse was to rescue native artifacts from vanishing along with their makers. In this vein, salvage ethnography provided an ideological justification for the rise of anthropological "culture-collecting"—code for the buying, plundering, and re-categorizing of aboriginal belongings as artifacts for Western pseudo-scientific study. Putting a benevolent and even heroic spin upon culture-collecting, narratives of salvage framed the anthropologist as "[t]he recorder and interpreter of fragile custom [... ,] custodian of an essence, unimpeachable witness to an authenticity" (Clifford "Ethnographic Allegory" 113). Sharing linguistic roots with the word "salvation," anthropology's notion of salvage was invested with the "etymological connotation of wholeness" (Morris 54)—a wholeness that ethnographers sought in their re-discovery (read: imaginative reproduction) of organic origins, of native purity in "prehistory."[9] In part influenced by the contemporaneous rise of modernism, salvage ethnography fetishized the "primitive" and, thus, sought to recover it from the detritus of history via a kind of phantasmatic time-travel that enabled the technological reconstruction (via writing, phonography, photography, film, *et cetera*) of a pre-contact native state of nature. Pivoting on a complex logic of paradox, the anthropological salvaging of Curtis' era therefore posited the decay of aboriginal cultures in the present while simultaneously attempting to reify "traditional" native lifeways of the past.

While the "scramble for [...native] artifacts" in North America stretched between the period from 1875 to 1925, the turn-of-the-century era in which Curtis worked was the heyday of anthropological culture-collecting. As the official photographer for the Harriman Expedition to Alaska in 1899, Curtis participated in the scavenging of a Tlingit village at Cape Fox and the appropriation of several totem poles and house posts for major American museums (Cole 309).[10] The cultural "preserver" consequently doubled as a kind of cultural "predator"—a figure haunted by the "unpleasant work" (as Boas put it) of graverobbing and scavenging for remnants of "vanishing" aboriginal cultures.[11] The predominant way that Curtis engaged in anthropological salvaging, however, was via the work of photographic capture.[12] In 1898, Curtis wrote to his friend George Bird Grinnell, editor of the huntsman's journal *Field and Stream*, and articulated his idea for a large-scale photographic record of the soon-to-be-lost native other. Formulating his grand plan in the following terms, Curtis writes:

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[9] In his essay "On Ethnographic Allegory," James Clifford examines "a broad, orienting allegory" (or more accurately, a pattern of possible allegories) that has recently emerged as a contested area [of anthropological discourses]—a structure of retrospection that may be called 'ethnographic pastoral'" (110). According to Clifford, this structure pivots upon a search for "wholeness"—which "by definition becomes a thing of the past (rural, primitive, childlike) accessible only as a fiction, grasped from a stance of incomplete involvement" (114). The ethnographic pastoral and its search for wholeness, then, are key elements of "ethnographic allegory" and, more specifically, the ideology of salvage ethnography.

[10] The Harriman Alaska Expedition was a private enterprise sponsored by railroad tycoon E.H. Harriman. The expedition "gathered some of the most prominent natural historians of the time under the scientific leadership of Dr. C. Hart Merriam to explore much of the Alaskan coastline" (Gidley 17). It also initiated "Curtis's specialization in the photography of Indians" and brought him national prizes and acclaim for his work (Gidley 17).

> I don't know how many tribes there are west of the Missouri, Bird—maybe a hundred [....] You and I know, and of course everyone does who thinks of it, the Indians of North America are vanishing. They've crumbled [...] into pitifully small numbers, painful poverty and sorry weakness. There won't be anything left of them in a few generations and it's a tragedy—a national tragedy. Thinking people must realize this. So, I want to produce an irrefutable record of a race doomed to extinction. (qtd. in Hausman and Kapoun xix)

In an effort to erect a monument to the "national tragedy" of the "vanishing Indian," Edward Curtis set to work on producing *The North American Indian*, a twenty volume compendium of photographic portfolios and encyclopedic notes on "all the important tribes of the United States and Alaska that still retain to a considerable degree their primitive customs and traditions" (Curtis Vol. I xiii).[13] In fittingly "monumental" style, the portfolios were leather-bound and photo-engraved—packaged as a rare aesthetic experience—making production costs so expensive that only 272 copies were ever sold to wealthy patrons and major libraries, at the price of $3,000 per volume (Adam "Introduction" 6).[14]

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[11] In his fieldnotes, dated 6 June 1888, Franz Boas comments: "[i]t is most unpleasant work to steal bones from a grave, but what is the use, someone has to do it" (qtd. in Bracken 176).

[12] It should be noted at this point that Curtis' relation to institutional anthropology was quite complex. Curtis had no formal training as an ethnologist and, for this reason, his work was debunked by several academics. At the same time, however, Curtis managed to ally himself with other prominent scholars such as Matilda Coxe Stevenson and Frederick Webb Hodge, both researchers with the Bureau of American Ethnology. Curtis also convinced Hodge to lend his work official support by becoming the editor of *The North American Indian* (Makepeace 50).

[13] The twenty portfolios and encyclopedic volumes of *The North American Indian* were published over a span of more than twenty years. The first volume, on "Apache, Jicarillas, and Navaho," was published in

Drawing on the support of his elite hunting and naturalist friends such as Grinnell, C. Hart Merriam, a founder of the National Geographic Society, and Gifford Pinchot, Chief of the U.S. Forest Service, Curtis publicized his project to high society in America. In 1904, he won the affirmation of President Theodore Roosevelt, himself an avid huntsman and outdoorsman, who wrote letters of commendation which appeared in advertisements as well as forewords to each volume of *The North American Indian.* Lauding Curtis' photographic endeavours as an important act of patriotic citizenship, Roosevelt extols:

> I regard the work you have done as one of the most valuable works which any American could now do [....] You are now making a record of the lives of the Indians of our country which in another decade cannot be made at all [....] You have begun just in time, for these people are at this very moment rapidly losing the distinctive traits and customs which they have slowly developed through the ages. The Indian, as an Indian, is on the point of perishing.... (December 16, 1905)

1907 and the final volume, on "The Nunivak...." was published in 1930. The phrase "and the Dominion of Canada" was added to the subtitle for the *North American Indian* in 1915, with the publication of Volume X on the Kwakiutl of coastal British Columbia (Adam "Introduction" 6). Later in this chapter, I will discuss the way Curtis' project had the tendency to subsume the national category of "Canada" within a hegemonic American imperial paradigm.

[14] In correspondence with J. Pierpont Morgan in 1906, Curtis referred to the project as a "monumental thing" that "nothing can exceed" (qtd. in Gidley 44). Although only a small number of the complete portfolios were ever purchased, Curtis' photographs were also available for individual sale from his studio, located in Seattle. The cost for these photographs ranged between $3.00 and $20.00, depending on the size of each print (Adam *Edward S. Curtis* 31).

According to Roosevelt, the nation's current time constituted a crucial historical juncture marking the brink upon which the "Indian, as an Indian" temporarily hovered prior to fading into disappearance. In this context, Curtis' project of "making a [photographic] record" of the native other captured in the pose of vanishing tradition served as a monument to the nation's aboriginal past—a nostalgic pastness that implicitly marked the triumph of the white American present and future.

By first allying himself with the elite huntsmen and naturalist circles led by Grinnell and Roosevelt, Curtis launched his project in affiliation with the Anglo-Saxon power base that continued to manage the Western frontier for the nation's imperial interests by appropriating land from indigenous groups and repossessing it under the title of national parks. Moreover, Curtis relied on his Presidential connections for permission to conduct the majority of his fieldwork within reservation borders. As a result, he became enmeshed within the governmental matrix and, in many ways, imbibed and reproduced the assimilationist ideology expounded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Gidley 24). Assuming the role of an unofficial informant for the Bureau, Curtis penetrated native communities and then wrote back to the government as a paternalistic sometimes-advocate for the "vanishing Indian." Commenting upon Curtis' effectiveness in this capacity, Francis E. Leupp, Commissioner of the Indian Bureau, once remarked:

> There is a great art in collecting such material as Mr. Curtis has acquired. It is necessary, as a first step, to gain the complete confidence of the Indians, who are the most suspicious people in the world when it comes to any dealing with the white race, and possess a positively Oriental adroitness in concealing under an air of candor whatever they do not care to disclose. Mr. Curtis' [.....] tactful methods are such that he is the one historical prospector to whom I have felt justified in giving absolute freedom to move about in the Indian Country wherever he would. (1918)

Curtis' *North American Indian* project therefore was not only a lofty "monument" to the nation's "vanishing race"; his work also served pragmatic purposes for the federal administration of racist oppression. As an "historical prospector" mining the secrets of "Indian Country," Curtis functioned as a useful, if somewhat rogue, agent who could "gain the complete confidence of the Indians" and then betray this trust by reporting to the Bureau of Indian Affairs.[15] Overlapping the malevolent stereotype of "Oriental adroitness" in deception with the stereotype of the seemingly candid and yet scheming "Indian," Leupp's commentary belies a deep colonialist anxiety regarding the ability to control and gain knowledge/power over supposedly subjugated others. Ironically, however, while the Indian Bureau termed native groups fundamentally "suspicious," it was the American government itself that engaged in the shady practice of commissioning quasi-spies like Curtis to keep tabs on aboriginal others.

In 1906, Curtis expanded his influential support network by winning the patronage of railroad tycoon J. Pierpont Morgan. The wealthy businessman initially agreed to back these photographic endeavours with interest-free loans of $15,000 per year for five years. By 1910, however, Morgan extended his financial control over Curtis' work, establishing The North American Indian, Incorporated—an enterprise owned by the Morgan Trust, whose majority shareholder was J. Pierpont himself (Gidley 112). As a result of these weighty financial ties, Curtis became enmeshed in business with a commercial power whose railroad industry played a crucial role in uprooting aboriginal cultures, decimating the bison herds upon which native groups depended for sustenance, and accelerating the process of assimilation in the western United States (Pritzker 14). By working in conjunction with the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the one hand, and by linking himself to the railroad industries of Morgan on the other, Edward Curtis' salvaging project developed within a powerful matrix of white imperial interests in turn-of-the-century America.

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[15] During the decades around 1900, the American government—through the Bureau of Indian Affairs—implemented policies of aggressive de-tribalization and assimilation. One of the crucial ways in which the Bureau enforced its assimilationist program was via the The General Allotment or Dawes Act of 1887. This legislation sought to eliminate collective ownership of "Indian lands," thereby encouraging aboriginal peoples to become individual property holders while also opening up reservation territories for white settlement (Gidley 22-23).

According to theorist John Tagg, "*every* photograph is the result of specific and, in every sense, significant distortions which render its relation to any prior reality deeply problematic" (2). To understand the effects of such "distortions," Tagg continues, it is imperative to analyze "the social practices within which photography takes place" (2). In other words, photography cannot be theorized in universal or essential terms; rather, the photograph needs to be examined as "a material product of a material apparatus set to work in specific contexts, by specific forces, for more or less defined purposes" (Tagg 3). Thus far, my introduction for this chapter has sought to flesh out some of the "specific contexts" and "forces" that contoured the making of Edward Curtis' *The North American*

Indian. What I want to do now is link these contexts and forces together in an argument regarding the socio-political implications of Curtis' photographic endeavours.

By dramatizing the theme of the vanishing Indian as a powerful "structure of feeling" encoded in ethereal photographic texts, *The North American Indian* project perpetuated the dominant imperialist ideology of the era.[16] After the end of the Indian Wars in the mid-1800s, native populations in the United States were brutally subjugated by new forms of white governmental rule. Shifting from military force to policy-based oppression, the federal government spearheaded an aggressive assimilationist program designed to obliterate native lifeways. Although the particular tactics of subjugation underwent change in the late 1800s, the well-worn narrative of the vanishing Indian continued to be a pivotal instrument for dissimulating imperial domination and displacing culpability from white administrators. Thus, while imperial officers instituted policies designed to dissolve native communities and economies, they simultaneously parroted a discourse of ambivalent nostalgia, mourning the ostensibly inevitable devolution of a race that was "simultaneously pathological and genuine" (Rony 92). Drawing provocative linkages between violence and nostalgia, between the gun and the camera, Susan Sontag remarks: "[w]hen we are afraid, we shoot. But when we are nostalgic, we take pictures" (qtd. in Haraway 42). Transferring the violence of shooting aboriginals with guns to "hunting Indians" with cameras, Curtis' photographic salvaging effectively perpetuated the nostalgic pathos of American imperialist discourse by reinscribing the death of the native other via the project of so-called photographic preservation.

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[16] In his analysis of "ethnographic allegory," James Clifford borrows Raymond Williams' concept of a "structure of feeling" to describe the "theme of the vanishing primitive" and its affect in ethnographic writing ("On Ethnographic Allegory" 112).

The nostalgic affect produced by *The North American Indian* project, I argue, hinges upon Curtis' use of photography as a taxidermic technology.[17] By deploying the camera as an instrument of instantaneous capture, Curtis sought to manipulate time via the imagistic reconstruction of so-called traditional aboriginal lifeways. In so doing, Curtis' photography framed its object matter according to the future perfect tense, narrating its images as "what will have been."[18] Thus, the moment of the camera's instantaneous capture—the moment that supposedly ensured the preservation of a "vanishing race" in the image of permanence—was actually the moment that marked native bodies as "what will have been," thereby prophesying their pending death. Such a complex representational schema, I argue, is profoundly taxidermic. One of the crucial aspects of the semiotics of taxidermy theorized throughout this dissertation hinges upon how, in the guise of creating an image of preserved liveness, taxidermic modes of representation ironically encode and extend—or "stretch out"—the sign of death. Here, I seek to complicate conventional understandings of taxidermy as a technology of freeze-framing. Rather than discarding the concept altogether, my aim is to resist a reductive equation between freeze-framing and the simply static. Instead, the taxidermic freeze-frame suspends its object matter in the present while simultaneously projecting it toward a future of "what will have been." In the process, the taxidermic freeze-frame pivots upon a form of dynamic stasis that appears to "arrest decay" (Haraway 45) in the present while constantly setting in motion a narrative *telos* driven toward future death. Encoding these complex temporal manipulations, the photographs published throughout *The North American Indian* effectively suspend the native other in the morbid half-life of the not yet, not fully dead while forecasting the aboriginal's ostensibly inevitable demise and the concomitant triumph of white American civilization.

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[17] Discussing Oliver Wendell Holmes' celebration of photographic technology, written in 1859, Mark Seltzer remarks: "It might be suggested that if photography is the realist form of representation par excellence, taxidermy is the form of representation proper to naturalism. There is something of a continuity between Holmes's celebration of the ruthlessly superficial hunting and skinning with a camera and the dioramas of stilled life that make up, for example, the visual communion between 'man' and 'nature' in the Roosevelt Memorial of the American Museum of Natural History" (170).

[18] My analysis of the future perfect tense in Curtis' photography is indebted to Celia Lury's discussion of the "distinctive temporality" of photography in her book *Prosthetic Culture: Photography, Memory, and Identity*. While Lury's book is primarily concerned with thinking about the effects of digital photography in our current era, her third chapter (entitled "The Family of Man") seeks to analyze early twentieth-century photography and its relation to human typology, difference, and "sciences" such as ethnology. In this chapter, Lury briefly discusses Curtis' images, noting "the congruence between the photograph's defining tense of "this will have been" and the anthropological nostalgia at work" in *The North American Indian* (49).

The North American Indian, Incorporated

In order to demonstrate more specifically how the semiotics of taxidermy operate throughout Curtis' photography, I want to explore the production process for these images and engage in a close reading of selected pictures. Because the complete *North American Indian* portfolios contain approximately 720 photogravure images, my discussion does not intend to be comprehensive or to perpetuate any false promises of coverage. Instead, I will focus upon some of the most popularized images from *The North American Indian* that have been recirculated *ad infinitum* in museum space, art postcards, and coffee table books. My rationale in doing so is not to further reinforce their ubiquity (a risk that is necessarily inherent in such a critical project) but, rather, to defamiliarize or re-see these images as stereotypical constructions of otherness that tell us much more about their Western producers than the peoples they supposedly represent. Such a tactic of defamiliarization will, in turn, enable critical re-evaluation of the iconic status of Curtis' photographs in the Western cultural imaginary.

The North American Indian project phantasmatically constructs the native other in the image of white imperialist fantasies, reproducing aboriginal bodies as objects of ethnological and commercial desire. Although Curtis claimed to make "records" of only those tribes that "still retain[ed] to a considerable degree their primitive customs and traditions" (vol. I xiii), his photographs were highly stylized and manipulated images that invented, rather than merely recorded, images of "primitive" natives in the likeness of colonial stereotypes. Ironically, in his quest to photographically capture so-called traditional aboriginality in a state of cultural purity, Curtis engaged in many "doctoring" techniques to erase the traces of colonial contact and to create his own imagined scene of native origins. Such doctoring throughout Curtis' portfolios, I will demonstrate, holds profound political and ideological implications.

The lead photograph published in Volume I of *The North American Indian* is one of the most widely circulated images produced by Edward Curtis. Entitled *The Vanishing Race - Navaho* (1904), the picture bears a caption that explains:

> The thought which this picture is meant to convey is that the Indians as a race, already shorn of their tribal strength and stripped of their primitive dress, are passing into the darkness of an unknown future. Feeling that the picture expresses so much of the thought that inspired the entire work, the author has chosen it as the first of the series. (*Complete Portfolios* 36)[19]

The corresponding photograph depicts a shadowy, ethereal scene in which a meagre group of Navaho ride horses on a trail in a desolate, arid desert, seemingly heading toward a dark silhouette of mountains far on the horizon. The figures are riding away from the camera and, thus, have their slouched backs to the lens with their shadows trailing behind them. These physical forms are so dark and smudged that they read only as sombre silhouettes, nameless ciphers representing a race on the verge of extinction [Figure 16].

The specific process that Curtis used to reproduce his photographs contributed significantly to the manipulation of darkness and lightness in the images. Deploying the "best possible" and yet also the most costly technique at the time, Curtis worked with photogravure—an intaglio process that made it possible to either intensify or fade images "and to subsequently tone down details in the image that were deemed to be superfluous" (Adam 29). Capitalizing upon photogravure's potential, Curtis "heavily retouched" the lead photograph in the series in order to darken and blur the image (Pritzker 99) and, thus, dramatize the theme of disappearance "into the darkness of an unknown future" (as

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[19] According to Hans Christian Adam, the date given for each of Curtis' photographs refers to the date of the copyright and not necessarily that of the actual exposure (*Edward S. Curtis* 31). Although the distanced third person reference to "the author" might suggest that Curtis did not write the caption, the words are his own. Perhaps the phrasing was chosen to lend an objective, authoritative tone to the written commentary beneath each photograph, thereby underscoring the authenticity-value of the images as accurate records.

Curtis put it). Christopher Lyman argues that *The Vanishing Race – Navaho* "is as much the result of retouching as it is the product of the original negative. The sticks in the lower right-hand corner were apparently enhanced by strokes of a stylus, and the shapes of the Indian riders were defined by highlights which were enhanced with a negative retouching pencil" (80). By depicting aboriginals as blurred ciphers of an ostensibly defeated people, *The Vanishing Race – Navaho* encodes the semiotics of taxidermy as it freeze-frames its native "objects" on the brink of extinction. At the same time, Curtis' photograph projects "Indians" into the future perfect tense as "what will have been," thereby fulfilling the prophecy of their death even in the process of so-called photographic preservation.

Although the written caption for the first photograph of the series claims to establish the tone for the following volumes, I want to suggest that this paragraph also encodes an important tension operative in the representational strategies of *The North American Indian*. Specifically, Curtis' comment that "the Indians as a race [...are] already shorn of their tribal strength and stripped of their primitive dress" contradicts his assertion in the preface that his photographs represent only those "tribes" that still retained their traditional customs, rites, and dress. The native figures depicted throughout the twenty volumes are often sad and ghost-like, wrapped in the pathos of loss and extinction, and yet never are these figures presented in "modern" or European dress. The "shornness" of the "Indians" is often covered over with wigs that Curtis purchased. Moreover, "primitive dress" is often a focal point of the images, most of the costumes being furnished by Curtis himself and draped over top of the Western clothes commonly worn by his "models" (Francis *Copying People* 3). Thus, while the written caption to the first image in the series fleetingly specifies cultural loss in terms of clothing and custom, the majority of pictures throughout *The North American Indian* labour to suspend such loss in the "ethnographic present" of the frozen photograph while nostalgically marking its object matter as "what will have been" the moment after the image has been captured.[20] At the level of discursive production, however, the tension encoded in the introductory caption works strategically to project a white audience into the future to look back on the photograph as what was and, thus, to mourn the nation's ostensibly dead other.

Many of the general aesthetic elements deployed in *The Vanishing Race – Navaho*—such as shadowy, ethereal scenes depicting stoic and solemn figures—are frequently repeated throughout photographs in the twenty-volume compendium. In contrast to the series' lead photograph, however, many other images focus intently on the faces of particular native subjects. Explaining his motivation for doing so, Curtis writes: "I made one resolve, that the pictures should be made according to the best of modern methods and of a size that the face might be studied as the Indian's own flesh" (qtd. in Adams "Introduction" 29). In the process of attempting to photographically capture the aesthetic affect of real skin, however, Curtis' close-up portraits effectively fetishize native bodies as topographies of flesh upon which colonialism's stereotypes are projected. At the same time, Curtis' use of the term "studied" underscores his investment in creating images that also served a pedagogical function, enabling white spectators to examine aboriginal bodies long after their supposed extinction.

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[20] According to James Clifford, "representations that have not historicized their objects" often portray "exotic societies in an 'ethnographic present' (which is always, in fact, a past). This synchronic suspension effectively textualizes the other, and gives the sense of a reality not in temporal flux, not in the same ambiguous, moving *historical* present" of the anthropologist ("Ethnographic Allegory" 111). My reference here is intended to denote the way Curtis' photography attempts to stretch out its subject matter in an "ethnographic present"—a discrete temporal sphere that suspends the native other in a liminal space of half-life—of being not yet fully dead. At the same time that the photograph attempts to suspend the other in this moment, Western history marches ever onward. According to this racist narrative, the time that follows the moment of photographic capture is a time in which the native continues his vanishing and is "stripped" and "shorn" in Curtis' words.

A pair of photographs published in Volume X of *The North American Indian* demonstrate both of the photographic tactics previously discussed—namely, long-shots that frame native peoples as statuesque silhouettes and close-ups that treat native faces as topographies of flesh to be examined in detail.[21] The first photograph, entitled *A Nakoaktok Chief's Daughter*, is a long-shot of a wizened, aging woman wrapped in a cedar bark cape and seated on a wooden plank supported by two carved statues of slaves. Penned by Curtis himself, the written caption below the image adds the following ethnographic commentary: "When the head chief of the Nakoaktok holds a potlatch (a ceremonial distribution of property to all the people), his eldest daughter is thus enthroned, symbolically supported on the heads of her slaves" (*Complete Portfolios* 377).

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[21] Four years separate the copyright dates for the two images I am discussing in the above paragraphs. According to Library of Congress records, *A Nakoaktok Chief's Daughter* was copyrighted in 1910 while *A Chief's Daughter – Nakoaktok* was copyrighted in 1914. Both, however, were published in Volume X in 1914. The difference in copyright dates does not necessarily mean that the two images were not photographed at the same time. Jennifer Brathovde, a reference librarian from the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress has confirmed that "the same woman [namely, Francine Hunt] posed for both photographs" and that it seems most likely that the two images—due to the striking similarity of the costumes and set-up—were indeed photographed during the same photo shoot (Email Correspondence).

Posed with the same grimace as the two statues balanced below her, the Chief's daughter similarly becomes a kind of frozen architectural monument to a vanishing race. Rather than a person, she is a statue representing a certain type (i.e. a high-caste Nakoaktok woman) categorized by anthropologists.

The second photograph, entitled *A Chief's Daughter – Nakoaktok*, features a close-up portrait of the same scene (*Complete Portfolios* 396). This time, the sharp-focus black and white image emphasizes and details textures on and around the woman's body. In particular, three predominant textures demand attention: the woven grid of the cedar cape, the undulations of abalone earrings (both props furnished and frequently recycled by Curtis throughout the photographs in Volume X), and the creased skin of the woman's face. *A Chief's Daughter – Nakoaktok* is a portrait all about surfaces that reduces its object matter to a frozen topography of "natural" textures—abalone shell, cedar fibres, aboriginal skin—symbolic of the supposedly close relationship between natives and the natural world. Similar to the way that aboriginal-crafted cedar bark capes, baskets, and rogans have become artifactualized as ubiquitous museum objects depicting native tradition, so too does Curtis' photograph artifactualize aboriginal bodies and, in particular, what Homi Bhabha refers to as the "signifier of 'skin/race'" (79). In this way, the pair of photographs depicting the Chief's daughter collectively function to frame her as both a frozen statue—a silhouetted figure of native demise—and a taxidermic surface posed and preserved for study [Figures 17 and 18].

While the title of the photograph frames the Chief's daughter as an unnamed "tribal" representative, Edward Curtis knew the model well as Francine Hunt, wife of the famous interpreter and native informant of Tlingit and English descent, George Hunt (Francis *Copying People* 59). As extremely influential participants in the field research of Franz Boas, Marius Barbeau, and Edward Curtis, the Hunts were in no way isolated in a pre-contact past, living as "primitive" natives. Francine Hunt regularly dressed in European style clothing and assisted her husband in his compradorial work as a mediating figure between white ethnographers and aboriginal groups. Her appearance as the *Nakoaktok Chief's Daughter*, therefore, is a highly performative enactment of Curtis' fantasy of a "traditional" Pacific Coast aboriginal woman.[22] A comparison of *A Nakoaktok Chief's Daughter* with a well-known photograph of George and Francine Hunt in Western dress taken in 1930 by J.B. Scott [Figure 19] throws into striking relief the implications of Curtis' photographs for reproducing native subjects as nameless, generically-costumed objects of ethnographic taxonomization.[23]

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[22] The *Chief's Daughter* is posed wearing two large abalone earrings which bear a striking similarity to earrings shown in another photograph in Volume X entitled *Tsawatenok Girl* (383). Gloria Jean Frank compellingly traces the recirculation of jewellery and props throughout Curtis' photographs of Northwest Coast native peoples (176).

[23] As I mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, given the fact that dominant texts are often all that is available for critique, it is difficult at times to theorize the agency of aboriginal subjects involved in the production of Curtis' texts. The case of Francine Hunt, however, offers a point of entry into this discussion because her interactions with the dominant culture have been partially "documented" in the historical sources of major figures such as Boas, Curtis, *et. al.* Through their complex and often fraught compradorial work, George and Francine Hunt did gain a kind of historical legibility (albeit compromised) that offers historians and critics an opportunity to trace moments of aboriginal resistance to colonial power. Although it is impossible to definitively know why Francine Hunt participated in Curtis' photography projects as a costumed figure, it seems quite likely that she did negotiate a form of agency for herself in the process, gaining economic benefits and social status rarely available to aboriginal women in colonial society. Moreover, the Hunts' work as native informants and translators afforded them significant powers of interpretation, influencing the production of ethnographic knowledge about west coast aboriginal groups. While it is important not to collapse George and Francine as a single unit and to recognize the authority

While many critics locate *The North American Indian* project firmly within the category of "art" rather than "science" and attribute the photographs' dramatization of the racist narrative of the vanishing Indian to pictorialist aesthetics (Slemmons 1, Rony 90), I argue that Curtis' work is much more hybrid in its insidious combination of aesthetics and the dubious pseudo-sciences of race.[24] Demonstrating that such hybridized strategies were in existence prior to Curtis' photography, Samuel Morton's 1839 *Crania Americana* constitutes a compelling pre-text for the pernicious melding of aesthetics and racial pseudo-science. Deploying oversized black and white lithographs of "the skulls of various aboriginal nations of North and South America," Morton dramatized craniological studies in striking terms. Prepared by Philadelphia artist John Collins, these lithographs brought "Morton's cranial cabinet to life," animating his skull specimens for

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George was able to wield as a man in a patriarchal colonial society, information about George's agency may help to shed light on the kinds of agency Francine may have also exercised. In particular, George Hunt "played a key role in inventing what came to be the ethnographic image of 'the Kwakiutl'" via his work as an interpreter and informant (Briggs and Bauman 490). Hunt's first formal job as an interpreter involved working for the provincial Superintendent of Indian Affairs in 1873. Following this, he served as an interpreter for missionary Alfred J. Hall and for the provincial courts in Victoria (Briggs and Bauman 489). Such a wide sphere of influence enabled both Hunt and his wife to circulate in and interact with a variety of colonial institutions.

[24] According to Rod Slemmons, Associate Curator of Photography at the Seattle Art Museum, pictorialism was the dominant photographic convention in America at the turn of the twentieth century. The convention, Slemmons argues, was "characterized by soft focus" (1). "[P]ictorialism embodied an attitude toward the choice and presentation of subject matter—to find or create scenes implying a remote and idealized past and to celebrate the spiritual and mystical side of human experience" (1). Arguing for a reading of Curtis' work in terms of pictorialist aesthetics, Hans Christian Adam asserts that "Curtis distanced himself completely from the anthropometry that was so popular at that time; it sought to quantify ethnology in a manner that was allegedly neutral and positivistic by using a ruler to measure body sizes, ear lengths and the distances between nostrils in inches or centimeters, but this was nonetheless biased by the arrogance of the white man. Curtis' intentions were artistic and he adopted a humanistic approach. He was concerned with depicting the spiritual, and in order to bring this out in his pictures, he employed an arsenal of pictorial devices including the distribution of light and shadow, sharp and blurred focus, and especially cropping to heighten dramatic impact" ("Introduction 28). Adam's attempt to demarcate a clear separation between anthropometry and pictorialism, I contend, overlooks how the two forms may work together in Curtis' images.

the purpose of dramatizing racism's "truths" (Otter 112). As literary critic Samuel Otter remarks, in Collins' images, "bone is treated like skin, given qualities of graininess and smoothness that encourage the viewer's eye to caress the surface and invite the hand to reach under the skull" (113). By incorporating elements of portraiture into the lithographs of skulls and treating bone like the more frequently fetishized surface of skin, *Crania Americana* aestheticized the insidious project of linking cranial measurements to a taxonomy of the purportedly inferior "natural dispositions" and mental character of America's native others.[25]

More than sixty years later, Curtis re-fashioned, conflated, and dramatized disparate elements of the convoluted genealogies of nineteenth-century racial science in *The North American Indian*. Instead of bone, however, Curtis' portfolios attempt to revivify interest in the contours of "skin"—inculcating a taxidermic fetishization of surfaces and, in particular, the topographies of flesh—as a literal and aesthetic cover for the underworkings of craniology and, more generally, raciology. Pointing toward such a hybridization while still celebrating the supposed authenticity of Curtis' photographs, G.B. Gordon writes in his 1908 essay in the *American Anthropologist*: "Indeed, there has never been seen a series of pictures from brush or camera which so artistically and at the same time so accurately illustrates the life of the Indian tribes living within the United

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[25] In a letter to John S. Phillips printed at the beginning of *Crania Americana*, Morton asserts: "there is a singular harmony between the mental character of the Indian, and his cranial developments as explained by Phrenology" (n.p.). Morton believed that cranial measurements could help to categorize the characteristics and behaviour of races, including such elements as "secretiveness, cautiousness, destructiveness, combativeness" and more (277). For an excellent analysis of Morton's cranial studies, see chapter three of Otter's *Melville's Anatomies*.

States, or which portrays so truthfully the physical types characteristic of these tribes" (435). Thus, while many of the images in *The North American Indian* capitalize upon drama and aesthetic impact, it is important to carefully investigate how such aesthetic aspects may dissimulate another agenda—namely, photographic "documentation" in the service of racial science. Here, the pseudo-ethnographic and the aesthetic converge in the production of images that nostalgically portray the facial expressions of stereotyped stoic "Indians" while simultaneously framing these faces in frontal and profile positions that mimic anthropometric examinations of racialized others. In this sense, many of the photographs throughout *The North American Indian* subtly encourage study of native craniofacial features in ways that popularize certain nineteenth- and early twentieth-century pseudo-scientific theories of race.

"By the turn of the century," Christopher Lyman remarks, "anthropometric photography had been reduced to a generally standardized format" including "at least two portraits, one full frontal, and one in profile, usually shot against a neutral background" (81). Such techniques are incorporated in striking ways in a pair of close-up portraits in Volume X entitled *Yakotlus – Quatsino*. These photographs feature an aging man with deeply etched skin dressed in a cedar bark cape remarkably similar to the one worn by Francine Hunt in *A Nakoaktok Chief's Daughter*. The Quatsino man is first shown from a side profile while a second picture displays him with his face turned more toward the camera. In the second photograph, the man is hunched forward with his knees pulled up to his stomach and his hands resting upon them in an ape-like pose. Explaining the supposed significance of the man's craniofacial features and posture, the written caption for both images remarks: "In physique and intelligence the Quatsino seem inferior to the other Kwakiutl tribes. This plate illustrates the artificial deformation of the head, which formerly was quite general on the North Pacific coast" (*Complete Portfolios* 397). The rhetoric employed in this description resonates powerfully with the anthropometric attempt to link physical features to mental and behavioral characteristics. For Curtis, the photograph's "documentation" of the man's facial features and ape-like pose demonstrates what is already ostensibly proven about the physical and intellectual inferiority of the Quatsino—the supposed racial degeneracy that is virtually written on their bodies. Under the guise of the aesthetics of portraiture, therefore, Curtis' photographs frame the Quatsino man in a "taxonomic tableau" (Rony 30) that reduces him to a scientific specimen, a catalogued sub-species of a dying race [Figures 20 and 21].

While Curtis manipulated the representation of his particular native subjects, he also frequently altered the setting and environment that framed many of his images. One of the most blatant instances of Curtis' photograph "doctoring" and his attempts to manipulate the temporality of a particular *mise en scène* occurs in his 1910 photograph *In a Piegan Lodge* (*Complete Portfolios* 256). Appearing in Volume VI of *The North American Indian*, this picture depicts two Piegan men inside a tipi posed against a backdrop of "medicine bundles and other sacred objects" (Makepeace 174). The men are dressed in "traditional" clothes and jewellery and are positioned as stoic ambassadors of the "old" tribal life [Figure 22]. A comparison of the Library of Congress negative with the reproduction in *The North American Indian*, however, reveals that an alarm clock which the two Piegan men placed between them was scratched out of the original negative (Makepeace 174).[26] In turn, Curtis superimposed an image of a woven basket over the excised timepiece [Figure 23]. In this way, Curtis' photographic "retouching" attempted to eradicate all evidence of cultural hybridity and "modernization" and to deny the contemporaneity of aboriginal peoples and Euro-North American settlers. The removal of the alarm clock—a machine that keeps its owner in pace with modern industrial society—was consequently designed by Curtis to effect a literal erasure of the time of Western progress from the supposedly past world of the authentic "North American Indian." In this sense, Curtis' retouching of *In a Piegan Lodge* inscribes key temporal manipulations of colonial discourse. In particular, the photograph hinges upon what Johannes Fabian refers to as the "denial of coevalness": a representational problematic encoded by anthropological discourses that "persistent[ly] and systematic[ally] tend[s…] to place the referent(s) of anthropology in a time other than the present of the producer" of the discourse (31). This strategy of "allochronism" reinforces the *telos* of Western progress by relegating the colonial other to a discrete—and always already anterior—temporal realm (Fabian 31). By inscribing such a denial of coevalness in this photograph, Curtis' image effectively attempts to taxidermically preserve these

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[26] Anne Makepeace suggests that the Piegan men wanted to display the alarm clock in the photograph as a status symbol, a sign of their interaction with the world of colonial contact (174). In response, I want to leave open the possibility of other interpretations, not limiting the variety of meanings the Piegan men's appropriation of a European clock could have for aboriginal cultures.

Piegan figures in a freeze-frame that holds the native other in temporal stasis, separate from the movement of Western history.

For a final example in this constellation of photographic close readings, I want to engage in a kind of return to origins—at least as Edward Curtis imagined them. While many of the pictures featured throughout *The North American Indian* cast "traditional Indians" in the dusky half-light of their supposedly final moments on earth, other images seek to technologically reconstruct a pre-contact state of lush, pristine nature—as inscribed in the tense of the past perfected. An exemplary photograph of this kind is *Before the White Man Came – Palm Canyon* (1905), published in Volume XIV (*Complete Portfolios* 572). The image depicts a young woman with her back to the camera and her bared chest visible in side profile, standing at the edge of a pool of water. Wrapped only in a fur skin around her waist and carrying a bowl of water on her head, the young woman pauses contemplatively, looking at the palm trees and their glassy reflection in the still pond. Her tribal category unnamed and unidentified by costume, the woman is an essentialized figure of aboriginality, the authentic prehistoric "Indian." Imbued with nostalgia for prelapsarian tranquility and simplicity, *Palm Canyon* constructs a Western fantasy of native origins—an othered state of nature emancipated from the social, political, and economic constraints of Euro-American culture.

Ironically, this supposedly pristine and untouched scene of origins was mechanically manipulated by Edward Curtis. Unwilling to stop at the costuming of his aboriginal models, Curtis also had to "doctor" the natural environment, engineering a dam to stop the water from flowing and instead collect in the still, reflective pool depicted in the photograph (Makepeace 172). Like the construction of a diorama—the simulated backdrop of nature that became the proper museological mode of display for taxidermic specimens—*Palm Canyon* was produced by Curtis as an artificially controlled environment for showcasing the native other in her primeval habitat. Despite Curtis' manipulations, however, the glassy body of water at the centre of the picture does not capture the reflection of the young woman herself; only the backdrop of lush trees and sky. On a metaphorical level, this absence of the aboriginal other's reflection may be read as a moment of rupture in Curtis' fantasy of capturing native purity and authenticity: rather than constituting a celluloid record of the "real," *Palm Canyon* is an ephemeral illusion, an imaginary delusion of "traditional Indianness" conjured up in the mind of one Euro-North American man. In this sense, the female figure evades capture and reflection in the pool of water and, thus, her absence symbolizes Curtis' failure to capture native "authenticity" in general throughout his photographic project.

Pictures on the Move

Despite the patronage of magnates such as J. Pierpont Morgan, *The North American Indian* enterprise continued to consume rather than generate profits. Because the exorbitant costs of extended fieldwork and travel across the continent perpetually exceeded the returns of the series' elite subscription list, Curtis began a campaign to publicize his work by translating the contents of printed portfolios into dynamic spectacles. Although he engaged in public lectures regarding aboriginal cultures across North America from the early 1900s, the first series of organized evenings of entertainment which displayed his photography and set it to music was launched in 1911 (Gidley 200). Referred to as the Curtis "Musicale" or "Picture Opera," the events were billed as "something absolutely new," described in a New York playbill in the following terms:

> A poetic story, never before told, of the intimate tribal life and esoteric rites of the North American Indians [....] The story is illustrated by the most wonderful and beautiful art pictures—both still and moving—ever secured to perpetuate the history of a vanishing race and faithfully depict their customs and environments [....] In further embellishment is the music, transcribed from phonographic notes taken in the field, barbaric to a degree and wonderfully full of color; arranged in symphonic composition by Mr. Henry F. Gilbert and rendered by an orchestra of symphony soloists. ("A Vanishing Race" playbill).[27]

As a kind of hybrid spectacle, the "Picture Opera" combined elements of orchestral performance, lecture, lantern slide show, and even brief film footage of the Hopi Snake Dance. Staging the musicale in prestigious venues such as Carnegie Hall in New York and the Belasco Theater in Washington, D.C., Curtis designed his "Intimate Story of Indian Tribal Life" as an evening of entertainment and ethnographic edification for white American high society.

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[27] This playbill was printed for a series of four appearances in the greater New York area, held at the following venues: Carnegie Hall, the New York Hippodrome, the Brooklyn Academy of Music, and the Hudson Theatre ("A Vanishing Race" playbill). Henry Gilbert was "a composer and conductor in his own right" who had gained notoriety for his *Pirate Song* (1902). Curtis contracted Gilbert to arrange into orchestral form the "Indian" music he had collected on wax cylinders during his fieldwork, which was then copyrighted under Curtis' name (Gidley 203).

Although Curtis' "Picture Opera" toured major cities across the United States between 1911 and 1913, the problem of a project that cost more than it recouped again resurfaced. Not to be dissuaded, Curtis attempted to translate his *North American Indian* material into yet another spectacular format by embarking upon a project to cash in on the rise of cinema and to produce a "photo-drama," or full-length motion picture, depicting his ethnographic object matter (a project which, ironically, became the most extravagant money pit of Curtis' career). From this project came the 1914 silent film *In the Land of the Headhunters: A Drama of Kwakiutl Life*. Because Curtis' narrative documentary was crucial to the development of early ethnographic cinema, it bears close examination throughout the remainder of this chapter.[28] In so doing, I want to also re-think the relation between Curtis' photography, his "Musicale," and his film in a way that acknowledges the differences between and yet also the inter-implication of these spectacles.

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[28] Gidley defines the "narrative documentary" genre as film that effects "the transmission of 'authentic' documentary material (ceremonies, religious beliefs, customs, and the like) via a linear 'fictitious' narrative" (232). Throughout this chapter, I will use the term "narrative documentary" to classify Curtis' proto-ethnographic film while also underscoring the particular form of cognitive dissonance upon which the genre hinges. More specifically, I want to problematize the genre's attempt to maintain a clean split between "authentic fact" and "fictitious plot" while screening the two concurrently. The term "documentary" in general is used in the second and third chapters of this dissertation not to validate the authenticity or accuracy of the films under discussion but, rather, to signal the fraught investments of the people and institutions invested in categorizing these texts as purportedly authoritative or truthful documents of aboriginal cultures. Relatedly, early film historians might resist my invocation of the phrase "early ethnographic cinema" to characterize Curtis' film, arguing that ethnographic film did not really emerge as a distinct genre until the 1940s. I use the term, however, to signal earlier prototypes of the genre, taking my cue from the work of Fatimah Tobing Rony. In her book *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle*, Rony invokes the concept of "early ethnographic cinema" in analyzing such influential filmic experiments as the 1895 *chronophotographie* or time-motion studies of Félix-Louis Regnault (who studied racialized bodies in motion) as well as Curtis' *Headhunters* and Robert Flaherty's 1922 *Nanook of the North*. According to Rony, these early films have been integral to the development of the institutional matrix of ethnographic cinema and the direction of its gaze upon racialized others (7-16).

As previously mentioned, the critical tendency in analyzing Curtis' work has been to narrate, as a kind of representational "improvement," his movement from still photography, to lantern picture show where still slides dissolve into each other, to film where frames run in rapid succession in order to create the effect of fluid motion. Underpinning this conceptualization of Curtis' work is a *telos* of technological progress that hinges upon the assumption that each successive representational mode offers a more authentic and life-like glimpse of "Indian Tribal Life" by overcoming the limits of stillness and, thus, portraying native bodies in motion. A related assumption that requires critical re-thinking is the tendency to draw an all too easy juxtaposition between photography as a technology of stasis or freeze-framing and film as a technology of motion or mobility. Although Fatimah Tobing Rony's conceptualization of early ethnographic cinema as a taxidermic practice holds the potential to re-think motion pictures in terms of the stasis they might encode, her analysis, at times, risks lapsing into the very *telos* of technological progress I am critiquing here. Comparing Curtis' photography with his 1914 film, Rony argues that the "stillness of Curtis's photographs eerily suggests death in a manner that his stilted feature film does not" (97). While Rony registers critical distance by labelling Curtis' melodramatic film as "stilted," her comment still encodes an implicit differentiation between the stasis of photography and the capacity of film to rupture such stillness via the production of moving images. In contrast, I want to move away from conventional or essentialized understandings of the differences between photography and film and, instead, focus on a particular historical context in which these technologies were deployed to produce crucially inter-related representational and ideological effects. In this vein, I argue that Curtis used both still and motion picture cameras to encode pernicious stasis effects that reconstructed aboriginal peoples as dead to the future and lost in a vanished past. Much as Curtis' photography functions to frame native peoples according to the future perfect tense—as what *will have been* the moment the picture has been taken—Curtis' film, while purporting to re-animate native culture, suspends it in an anterior time discrete from the purportedly dynamic movement of modern Western history.

While my analysis of *Headhunters* will underscore the insidious ideological and political implications of representing the native other in a state of suspension—a state of being not fully alive but also not yet fully dead—my project simultaneously aims to critique the false promises of mobility. As a result, I want to exercise critical vigilance in resisting the reductive equation of stillness with confinement and mobility with emancipation. Rather than categorizing stasis and mobility as diametric opposites, my dissertation seeks to explore the integral affiliations between these two concepts. To do so, I want to acknowledge movement and stasis as real material conditions contoured by socio-economic and political force-fields while, at the same time, analyzing how the concepts, affects, and states of stasis and mobility are often constructed as illusory effects that may have important ideological implications. Such effects or semblances of stasis and mobility may dissimulate the ways that under the guise of motion, forms of ideological stasis are inscribed upon aboriginal bodies, attempting to "fix" them according to colonial taxonomies or rubrics. Alternately, while Curtis' photography and film taxidermically inscribe the aboriginal in the future perfect tense—the what will have been—and thus suspend the other in a state of perpetually pending death, the stasis effects of these texts disguise the way that such representations actually keep the native other *in circulation* as a tragic figure in the Western imaginary.

Screening the (In)Authentic

In the Land of the Headhunters is a filmic text with a complicated and provocative history that bears re-telling. Although Curtis produced his documentary as yet another money-making venture intended to fund the ongoing *North American Indian* project, public reception of the film was unenthusiastic, despite early critical acclaim.[29] As a result, the filmmaking venture plunged Curtis further into debt and, in 1924, he was forced to cut his losses and sell the master print to the American Museum of Natural History for $1500—a fraction of what it had cost to make (Lawlor 1994).[30] The next circulations of *Headhunters* remain unclear: a blank space in narratives of its history exists between the time the film was purchased by the American Museum and the time it came into the possession of Chicago's Field Museum in 1947, donated from the private collection of Hugo Zeiter of Danville, Illinois.

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[29] Thinking that "Indian-themed pictures" were popular in Hollywood at the time, Curtis hoped to make a minimum profit of $100,000 from the film (Lawlor 98).

[30] It seems that Franz Boas, the prominent ethnologist affiliated with the AMNH, was "mildly" interested in acquiring some "ethnographically valuable footage from the drama regarding the dances and rituals," despite the fact that he was skeptical of Curtis' research methods and lack of training (Evans 221). In 1930, Boas shot his own footage of Kwakiutl culture, referred to as *The Kwakiutl of British Columbia*.

In 1948, personnel at the Field Museum screened the documentary and the highly flammable 35mm nitrate film caught fire, resulting in a loss of some of the original footage. What remained was transferred to 16mm safety film—though, strangely enough, the original nitrate copy was destroyed by curators ostensibly trained in the work of archival preservation (Holm and Quimby 15). When George Quimby, Curator of Ethnology at the Field Museum, left to take up an appointment at the Burke Museum of Natural History in Seattle in 1965, he took a copy of the surviving footage with him in the hopes of reconstructing *Headhunters*. There he joined forces with anthropologist Bill Holm, and together the two edited the original footage, modified the film speed, added a soundtrack, and re-wrote the film's intertitles.[31] Unlike the 1914 version, the reconstruction—completed in 1973 and re-named *In the Land of the War Canoes*—was made widely accessible via its commercial release compliments of Milestone Film and Video.[32]

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[31] While the surviving footage of the 1914 version of *In the Land of the Headhunters* is 29 minutes long, the reconstructed version is 47 minutes long. Although I was unable to find information regarding the actual running time of the original in its complete form (i.e. prior to fire damage), Brad Evans asserts that the reconstruction is "nearly four minutes" longer than the original (222)—so the original ran for approximately 43 minutes in its full form. The additional running time in the reconstructed version can be attributed to Holm and Quimby's modification of the film speed from the original silent film speed of 16 fps to 24 fps. Moreover, certain scenes were extended "by adding frames from a duplicate negative in order to make up for missing footage" (Evans 222). Although Curtis' original film was silent, its early screenings were accompanied by orchestral music arranged by John H. Braham, billed as a symphonic interpretation of "Indian" music collected on phonographic wax cylinders during Curtis' fieldwork (Moore Theatre Playbill). When Holm and Quimby reconstructed the documentary in 1973, they produced a new soundtrack with Kwak'wala speakers and singers, a few of whom (Holm and Quimby boast as though it is a selling point) were actors in Curtis' original film (Holm and Quimby 17). The new soundtrack is spoken and sung in the Kwak'wala language and is not translated, although it was significantly edited in order to synchronize with the image-track of the film. For Holm and Quimby's narrativization of the soundtrack recording process, see pages 16-17 of their book.

As this brief history suggests, the "original" filmic text has, in a literal sense, been "lost" in the detritus of history. What survives today are two 16mm safety film copies made from the original 35mm nitrate text which was damaged by fire and then destroyed. While for archival literalists, the "original" material object is fundamentally irretrievable, for those concerned with re-viewing the "original" sequencing, intertitles, and general affect of Curtis' 1914 film, the opportunity is still available via a screening of one of the 16mm copies.

Recent critical returns to *In the Land of the Headhunters* have demonstrated just how convoluted the narrative histories of Curtis' film are and just how significantly the fetishization of lost originals and origins continues to inflect scholarly reception and consideration of this early ethnographic text. A recent exchange in the pages of *Visual Anthropology* is exemplary here, demonstrating the continuing investments in narrativizing Curtis' 1914 documentary as a "lost" or, at least, an exceptionally rare text. In an article published in 1996, Catherine Russell, a film scholar at Concordia University, proclaimed that "*Headhunters* is in itself a lost film" which today can only be referenced through "fragmentary glimpses made available in the 'restored' film" (56). Responding in 1998 to correct Russell's assertion, Brad Evans, a scholar in the English department at the University of Chicago, announced that the Field Museum held a 16mm safety copy of the original in its archives. Solidifying the import of his discovery, Evans continued: "I am currently unaware of any other copies of the original film which may exist beyond the copy at the Field Museum" (221). Curious about the discourse of archival rarity at stake in Russell's and Evans' articles, I conducted research to discern whether other copies of Curtis' 1914 film are, in fact, in existence and available for viewing. Although neither the Library of Congress, nor the Smithsonian Institute, nor the American Museum of Natural History holds a copy, one can be found at the Burke Museum of Natural History in Seattle—the site of the film's reconstruction. As a result, Evan's assertion regarding the Field Museum's sole proprietary claim is incorrect: there is another site where a copy of the original documentary may be viewed.[33] It seems, therefore, that *In the Land of the Headhunters* is not quite as "lost" nor its re-discovery as profound as the *Visual Anthropology* debate would suggest.

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[32] Although the VHS and DVD products sold by Milestone film and video are copies of Holm and Quimby's 1973 version, on their website, the film is billed as being dated from 1914, with no mention of the reconstruction. For further information, see http://www.milestonefilms.com/blurb/vwarcanoes.html.

To begin a close reading of *Headhunters*, I want to examine the early twentieth-century contexts in which Curtis produced his film. Continually in search of a purer aboriginality, Curtis eventually extended his salvaging project north of the border, where the faltering new Dominion had supposedly not yet gained control of its western frontier. From his perspective, while the United States was already on the verge of fulfilling its Manifest Destiny, the Canadian west remained largely "untamed," harbouring the most authentic "Indians" left on the continent. Hoping to witness and capture on celluloid such so-called authenticity before civilization inevitably spread to what he considered one of the continent's last frontiers, Curtis infiltrated the wilds of coastal Canada with his camera in tow. At the north end of Vancouver Island, he found his limit case for primitivism in a group categorized by anthropologists as "the Kwakiutl"—a seafaring "tribe" perched at "the edge of the edge of North America" (Bracken 8), where Western culture had supposedly not yet etched the sign of contamination.[34]

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[33] It is important to qualify my suggestion here that the film is available for viewing. In so doing, I seek to draw attention to the fraught politics of archival access that significantly contour research regarding *In the Land of the Headhunters*. In my attempts to screen the copies at both the Field Museum and the Burke Museum, I had to persist through months of email correspondence with the archivists at both sites. After deciding to view the copy in Seattle—as its existence was little known and had not previously been written about—I learned that because the film had not been transferred to VHS, a projectionist would have to be hired for the screening and that I would be personally responsible for paying these fees, which came to $120 US. As well, in order to gain access to view the film, my institutional affiliations as a doctoral candidate at the University of Alberta needed to be listed frequently, suggesting that a person without such institutional backing might have greater difficulty in viewing the film.

In his introduction to Volume X of the *North American Indian*, Curtis describes what he "discovers" on Canada's Pacific coast by reiterating the well-worn colonialist strategy of conflating the natural environment with the natives themselves:

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[34] The term "Kwakiutl" is an anthropological category that homogenizes multiple groups within one overarching "tribal" designation. According to James Clifford, the "phonetically more accurate term "Kwagiulth" (or Kwagu'l) properly denotes only one of many village communities among the peoples formerly called Southern Kwakiutl on northern Vancouver Island and the nearby islets and inlets of the mainland" ("Four Northwest Coast Museums" 249). Moreover, according to anthropologist Michael Harkin, "the term 'Kwakiutl' does not properly denote even the group that it primarily refers to—the Kwak'wala-speaking people of Fort Rupert, Alert Bay, and adjacent mainland and island groups" (100). Harkin also argues that "[t]hese various groups do not recognize the common identity that is implied in the use of the ethnonym 'Kwakiutl'" (100). The U'mista Cultural Society located in Alert Bay has recently proposed the name "Kwa̲ka̲'wakw" or "Those Who Speak Kwak'wala" to denote a heterogeneous group of peoples. This term seems to be the most commonly used term by those seeking to resist traditional anthropological taxonomies today. For the purposes of discussing Curtis' film, however, I will re-use the anthropological term "Kwakiutl" in order to signal the imagined native that Curtis sought to portray.

> It is an inhospitable country, with its forbidding, rock-bound coasts, its dark, tangled, mysterious forests, its beetling mountains, its long, gloomy season of rains and fogs. No less inhospitable, mysterious, and gloomy [...it seems] is the character of the inhabitants [....] One is impelled to question their knowledge of any such thing [...except that which] may be aroused by the gratifications of savage passions or purely physical instincts. Chastity, genuine, self-sacrificing friendship, even the inviolability of a guest,—a cardinal principle among most Indian tribes,—are unknown. It is scarcely exaggeration to say that not a single noble trait redeems the Kwakiutl character. (4)

Categorizing the Kwakiutl as savagery incarnate, Curtis framed this group as the ultimate embodiment of atavism and the only native "tribe" in the Pacific Northwest where "primitive life [...could] still be observed" (xi).[35] As a result, the anthropological salvager designated Kwakiutl territory an important site for deploying filmic technology to erase the traces of colonial contact and to reconstruct ostensibly authentic native origins. Curtis himself explicitly articulated his aims for the film in a letter to Dr. Charles Walcott of the Smithsonian Institution: "My effort would be to go back as close to the primal life as possible, illustrating my thoughts in this respect" (qtd. in Holm and Quimby 32).[36] Attempting to use the camera to engage in ethnographic time travel, therefore,

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[35] In the introduction to Volume X of *The North American Indian*, Curtis remarks: "Of all these coast-dwellers [i.e. native groups on the North Pacific coast from the Columbia river to Eskimoan territory in Alaska] the Kwakiutl tribes were one of the most important groups, and at the present time theirs are the only villages where primitive life can still be observed" (xi).

[36] *In the Land of the Headhunters* is supposed to represent Kwakiutl life around the time of George Vancouver's arrival to the area in 1792. In an early outline for the film, Curtis entitled it *In the Days of Vancouver*. According to this outline, the "picture treats the natives as seen by him at that time" (qtd. in Holm and Quimby 115). This statement is crucial for understanding how the film is focalized through the perspective of a white spectator encountering the "primitive" other for the first time. In 1915, Curtis published a literary companion to the film (also entitled *In the Land of the Headhunters*), in which he re-tells the same melodramatic narrative of romance in novelistic form. Interestingly, the major difference between the book and the film is that, in Curtis' novel, the moment of colonial contact does arrive (see Chapter Nine: The Coming of the White Man). In contrast, cross-cultural contact is perpetually deferred throughout the narrative action of the film, such that the spectator views "pure" Kwakiutl customs just prior to the influence of Vancouver and his imperial successors.

Curtis sought to "illustrate" *his* "thoughts" on what native origins once looked like, producing celluloid records of his own fantasies for white American posterity. Moreover, in the process of imagining native purity, Curtis' importation of technology, money, and mass-produced props to coastal Canada ironically perpetuated the very civilizing encroachments he claimed to mourn.

At the same time that Curtis endeavoured to produce an ethnographic record on film, he also strove to design a motion picture that would attract widespread audiences and, thus, generate a substantial profit.[37] In an effort to capitulate to the popular will, Curtis billed his film as a "photo-drama," rather than a "documentary."[38] Straddling an era of transformation in Hollywood production, in making *Headhunters*, he incorporated aspects of both "primitive" cinema's emphasis on spectacle (the so-called "cinema of attractions") and "classical" cinema's move toward narrative drama.[39] Curtis accordingly framed his ethnographic reconstruction of pre-contact Kwakiutl lifeways within the context of a melodramatic romance about a young warrior named Motana and his love-interest, the maiden Naida. The film's central plot, however, is primarily a vehicle for articulating (sometimes with weak and convoluted links) extended re-stagings of Kwakiutl "rituals." In this sense, *Headhunters* puts an ethnographic spin on "primitive" cinema's fascination with "attractions" or spectacle.

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[37] In a proposal for the Continental Film Company—the production company that Curtis formed with Seattle businessmen to produce "commercial motion pictures of the Indian and the Indian life"—the dual function of these films is implied in the following statement: "These pictures, while made to meet the demands of the scientist and students, will at the same time be so rendered that they will possess the interest needed to make the tastes of the masses or those who are looking for amusement only. Mr. Curtis' experience as a lecturer fits him to grasp the wants of the amusement-seeking public" (qtd. in Holm and Quimby 113).

[38] Catherine Russell asserts: "It is only recently that *Headhunters* became a documentary through its second life as *War Canoes*. Originally, it was apprehended as a fiction, constituted by quite a different audience than that of the present-day anthropology and native communities" (who Russell argues are the primary audiences for the film today) (71). I agree with Russell's general observation that Curtis' film has been more prominently categorized as a "documentary" since the 1973 reconstruction of the film. Such categorization suggests a continuing desire amongst scholars to re-assert the ethnographic value of Curtis' film as a "record" of Kwakiutl lifeways. That being said, Russell's assertion should be qualified because although *In the Land of the Headhunters* was commonly billed as a "photo-drama" back in 1914, a proposal for the Continental Film Company demonstrates Curtis' desire to produce films that were "classed among the educational" and "preserved as a part of the documentary material of the country" (qtd. in Holm and Quimby 113).

[39] Between 1907 and 1913, a shift took place in Hollywood motion pictures, moving toward the "*narrativization* of the cinema" and "culminating in the appearance of feature films" (Gunning 60). Early cinema prior to 1907 (often referred to as "primitive" cinema) was predominantly structured as a "cinema of attractions" (Gunning 57)—a cinema preoccupied with displaying the techno-powers of the camera to

Interestingly, the particular "rituals" which Curtis' film seems invested in reconstructing are those which had been banned by Canadian colonialist legislation, such as ceremonial dancing (referred to as the "tamanawas") and the potlatch. Although the potlatch and tamanawas had been legislatively prohibited since January of 1885, the government followed an unofficial policy of nonenforcement until 1913, "when the Department of Indian Affairs began its sustained attempt to put the potlatch to death" (Bracken 186).[40] Following closely on the heels of this governmental crusade, Curtis'

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create visual illusions and to produce spectacle, loosely "based in the tradition of the fairground and amusement park" (Russell 59). With the rise of "classical cinema," however, the "devices of cinema" were "transformed from playful 'tricks' to elements of dramatic expression and narrative" (Gunning 60). Russell locates *In the Land of the Headhunters* within the "cinema of attractions" or "primitive" cinema genre, arguing that "[d]espite Curtis's ambitions for a theatrical release for *Headhunters*, its narrative interruptions of ceremonial dances and displays, along with the other traits of early cinema, position the film as more of an 'attraction,' a spectacle of otherness, than an absorbing drama" (59-60). Russell's argument, however, is compromised by the fact that—unaware of the 16mm safety copies of the original held at the Field and Burke Museums at the time of writing—she conflates the 1973 reconstruction with the 1914 original. In contrast, Brad Evans argues that "Curtis's film does not fit the mold of a 'cinema of attractions.' Indeed, the Curtis original is remarkable for its narrative coherence [....] Curtis's original advantageously uses the medium of film to tell a familiar story of warfare and romance in a narratively harmonious way" (222). While I agree with Evans' point that Russell's reading of the film is problematic because reliant upon the 1973 reconstruction, I also contend that Evans' celebration of the "narrative coherence" of the 1914 film needs to be qualified. Although the narrative is more coherent in the 1914 film than in the 1973 reconstruction, it is evident that the narrative constitutes a somewhat weak attempt to link different performances of Kwakiutl rites and customs (i.e. events of ethnographic "value") in a way that could appease an audience not necessarily interested in such "data."

[40] The statute banning the potlatch and tamanawas came into effect on January 1, 1885, and in 1886, it became section 114 in chapter 43 of the Revised Statutes of Canada (Bracken 83). The title of chapter 43 is "An Act Respecting Indians," otherwise known as "The Indian Act." Section 114 states: "Every Indian or person [note that the two are listed separately] who engages in or assists in celebrating the Indian festival

production of *Headhunters* in 1914 seems obsessed with re-enacting that which the state was ostensibly trying to kill, that which the law had rendered taboo. Rather than reading Curtis as a foreign intruder who entirely disrupted the work of the Canadian state, however, I want to suggest that his orchestrated re-enactment of Kwakiutl "rituals" occupied a more ambivalent relationship to the government's agenda. In many ways, *Headhunters* complemented the Canadian state's attempt to assimilate and extinguish "Indianness" by mystifying the government's program of racist oppression via the reinscription of the trope of aboriginal disappearance. More specifically, Curtis' filmic re-enactment of the potlatch effectively reanimated Western stereotypes of the "Indian" as fundamentally primitive and unmodernizable, thereby scripting native extinction as an inevitable evolutionary fate in the wake of "civilization's" progress. Moreover, the particular temporal manipulations of *Headhunters*—namely the film's fantasy of time travel back to a pre-contact state—diffused its challenge to the law's authority by framing its re-enactment of Kwakiutl rituals as part of a so-called prehistoric past—an era prior to the jurisdiction of Western law.

At the same time that Curtis' film complemented the Canadian government's program of assimilation, it also registered tensions in the state's regime by suggesting the failures of colonial discourse. Specifically, by re-dramatizing the melancholy narrative of the vanishing Indian at an historical juncture when the Canadian state was tightening its colonialist repression, the production of *Headhunters* threw into relief pervasive white anxieties regarding the persistent *survival* of native populations. In this vein, Curtis' filmic enactment of aboriginal disappearance raised the unsettling question as to why, if

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known as the 'Potlatch' or the Indian dance known as the 'Tamanawas,' is guilty of a misdemeanor, and liable to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months and not less than two months" (qtd. in Bracken 83).

extinction was supposedly a tragedy intrinsic to native culture itself, was it necessary for the state to actively extinguish elements of native "tradition"? As a result, *In the Land of the Headhunters* became an unstable supplement to the work of the colonial state, both complementing its stereotypical categorizations of primitive otherness while simultaneously registering the hollowness of Western belief in the inevitability of aboriginal extinction. In this context, then, Curtis' celluloid reconstruction of Kwakiutl rites was much more than a disinterested record for the "science" of ethnography; rather, *Headhunters* was crucially about the production of a filmic "attraction"—an "attraction" of outlawed otherness. Adding new resonances to the term "primitive" cinema, Curtis deployed the stylings of a Hollywood genre in order to stretch out a filmic spectacle of spectral (outlawed, extinguished) otherness by re-staging prohibited ceremonies in a phantasmatic scene of pre-contact savagery.

The particular kind of spectacle that *In the Land of the Headhunters* stages, I want to suggest, is a resolutely *static* one. While the film initially appears to be all about recording (and consuming) images of native bodies in motion, a more careful analysis of the way Curtis frames these bodies via the camera lens demonstrates that complex forms of representational stasis are encoded throughout the film. The majority of the scenes are filmed from single static camera set-ups that frame Kwakiutl rituals via long-shots focused through a frozen and distanced lens (Russell 58).[41] Although the use of such filmic techniques might be explained in terms of budgetary constraints and lack of technological expertise, such an argument does not seem entirely sufficient in light of the fact that Curtis demonstrated advanced technological proficiency and means in creating several special effects throughout his "photo-drama."[42] Potentially offering a further explanation for such camera set-ups, Russell contends that the construction of the filmic frame as a "static proscenium with little depth of field" (Russell 58) is a convention of the "cinema of attractions" that capitalized on spectacle. In complex ways, then, the static camera set-ups that dominate *Headhunters* perpetuate such filmic conventions, thereby emphasizing spectacle and, in particular, the spectacle of native bodies confined within a narrow framework, held captive for the scrutiny of the ethnographic gaze. Whereas cross-cutting from different angles would create a sense of flow, the single static camera set-ups render movement futile, staging the Kwakiutl dances and rituals as spectacles of otherness fixed and confined by the Western ethnographic gaze.

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[41] Here, I am indebted to Russell's observations regarding the particular film techniques deployed throughout Curtis' documentary.. While Russell lists the specific techniques which I have cited her for above, she does not link these filmic strategies to an argument regarding the encoding of stasis effects, as I am doing here.

The filmic construction of static spectacle is especially pronounced in the wedding ceremony and potlatch scenes depicted in the film—scenes that, ironically, are supposed to be all about dance and dynamic movement. During the staging of the potlatch, Waket, Naida's father, accepts a dowry of blankets from his tribesmen and then leads a large ceremonial dance inside his house. The dancing that takes place throughout the film is always confined within this artificial set (often doubling as arch-rival Yaklus' house as well) which is built without a roof to supply enough natural light for filming. During the ceremonies, the "tribespeople" are crowded on a proscenium flanked on either side by a totem pole, with little room to move. The dancing that ensues seems inhibited by the camera's long-shot frame: bodies have little range of motion, while the little movement which does occur is primarily confined to a limited vertical field, registered by bodies bobbing up and down yet generally remaining in the same spot. In another scene captured in static long-shot and depicting a gambling game referred to as *lehal*, Curtis altered the typical arrangement of players, reconfiguring a game customarily structured around two parallel rows of opponents facing and interacting with each other to entail only one long row of men seated on the ground and facing the camera (Holm and Quimby 100). The configuration depicted in *Headhunters* features very little movement and resembles a row of men posing for a photograph rather than engaging in a lively game. In this sense, scenes that are supposed to be all about exhibiting "primitive" movement and action seem to be restrained by the very apparatus that purportedly reanimates a "lost" world of pre-contact "savagery."

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[42] One of the most striking special effects occurs when Naida's face appears (via a dissolve technique) in a cloud of smoke during Motana's vision quest. Such a technique of superimposing and dissolving one image into another was quite advanced for filmwork in 1914. Curtis also lightened and darkened certain scenes for strategic effect, deploying complicated film processing techniques to do so.

Ironically, *In the Land of the Headhunters* also produces ideologically-loaded stasis effects by substituting, exchanging, and recirculating its cast members—in other words, by placing native bodies in a kind of regulated "motion." For example, three different women played the role of Motana's love-interest, Naida, at various points throughout the film (Holm and Quimby 59).[43] The third woman to play Naida (in the scene enacting her escape from Yaklus) also doubled as the Sorceror's daughter who steals a lock of Motana's hair earlier in the film. Moreover, although it would seem to convolute the plot, one man played the roles of Naida's father (Waket) and her captor

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[43] The first woman to portray Naida in the film was Margaret Wilson Frank, a daughter of Chief Charlie Wilson. The second Naida who appeared in the film was Sarah Smith Martin, a daughter-in-law of George Hunt who later re-married Chief Mungo Martin. The third Naida apparently appeared only once in the film, during the scene where she escapes from Yaklus' (the evil warrior's) home. This woman has been identified as Mrs. George Walkus, who is also said to have played the part of the Sorcerer's daughter (Holm and Quimby 59).

(Yaklus).[44] According to the insidious internal logic of *Headhunters*, however, the recirculation and substitution of native bodies does not interrupt the film's overarching effect of reconstructing Kwakiutl rituals screened from frozen long-shots that reproduce native bodies as stereotyped ciphers. While the consistency of leading actors was not a priority, the casting of identifiably "Indian" actors was crucial, as Curtis prevented several prospective actors of mixed-race descent from participating because their "white ancestry was too evident" (Holm and Quimby 89). In a playbill for the screening of *Headhunters* at the Moore Theatre in Seattle, the advertisement boasts: "Every Participant an Indian" ("Moore Theater"). Here, the film is advertised according to its primary concern: namely, putting "authentic" "Indian" bodies through the motions that Curtis choreographed for them. Under the guise of setting native bodies in motion through recirculation, substitution, and exchange, therefore, Curtis' film paradoxically fixes them in stereotypical molds—or taxidermic poses framing aboriginal bodies as generic specimens of "Indianness"—that accentuate the spectacle of stasis.

In his attempt to fashion native bodies as substitutable ciphers, Curtis made his actors don a variety of racializing prosthetics to enhance their stereotypical "Indianness." While Curtis commissioned Francine Hunt (wife of interpreter and native informant George Hunt) to make cedar bark capes and regalia for costumes in the film, he also imported mass-produced wigs and nose rings from China (Makepeace 135). Because

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[44] The man who played these two roles was identified as Bulootsa, also known as Nakwakhdakhw of Blunden Harbour (Holm and Quimby 59). Although Holm and Quimby attribute such a recirculation of cast members to the unpredictable and migrant nature of Kwakiutl communities (thereby reinforcing stereotypes of native labour) (59), I contend that it also lays bare particular beliefs about the interchangeability of native peoples. While Curtis spent considerable time and money to produce the film according to his meticulous fancies, consistent casting did not seem to be integral to his cinematic vision. Curtis paid his actors to shave their beards, don "traditional" costumes, and thus perform his fantasy of "authentic Indianness" (Holm and Quimby 59) but did not seem to be overly concerned with representing the characters as unique figures. The actual actors could be recirculated haphazardly so long as they consistently wore the cosmetic trappings and the stereotyped signs of the native other.

Kwakiutl men had worn their hair short for over a generation, Curtis also arranged for the male actors to wear wigs in order to look the part of "authentic" primitives. At the same time that Curtis purchased many of these prosthetics from commercial suppliers, he also resorted to graverobbing in order to furnish his set with the skulls and bones that signified the savagery of the world of "headhunters" (Makepeace 132). Moreover, for the whale-hunting scene that occurs near the beginning of the film, Curtis "rented" a dead whale from a local whaling station and towed it out to sea by boat for the purposes of filming the supposedly epic scene of Motana's triumph over the ocean's mighty creature (Makepeace 136).[45] Here, the parallels to literal taxidermy are striking: Curtis' film disguises the death of an animal and re-presents it in the guise of life. The previous examples, however, also operate according to a principle of taxidermic reconstruction, albeit more metaphorically since they use prosthetics to re-shape ostensibly dead "Indians" in the image of colonial stereotypes, thereby bringing Western fantasies of otherness to life on celluloid. Accordingly, Curtis deployed the work of artifice, of costuming and prosthetics, to make "nature"—as represented, in his mind, by the figure of the "primitive" native—appear more natural than it supposedly could on its own.

Important contexts for studying *Headhunters* that seem to evade recovery are the negotiations, agency, and resistance involved on the part of the aboriginal actors who participated in Curtis' filmmaking. The absence of this information from the archives of history compellingly underscores the effects of Euro-North American control over the production of "official" records. That said, there are a few aspects of Curtis' film production that significantly enable speculation on the matter of aboriginal agency. For instance, it is interesting to consider how Curtis' recourse to the strategy of substituting actors might actually signal the precariousness of his imperial enterprise. Although, as previously mentioned, Curtis seemed somewhat indifferent to the matter of consistency in casting, it may well have been that the power of indifference was not his alone. It is quite possible that the First Nations actors were not as awed by Western technology and filmic production as Curtis loved to believe and, thus, were unwilling to radically alter their lives for the sake of movie-making. Holm and Quimby suggest that some relatives interfered with their family members' involvement in the filming process due to their resistances to such a colonial project (57). As well, it seems that other actors only made themselves available at specific times during the year, being unwilling to interrupt their seasonal fishing schedules for the sake of Curtis' documentary (Holm and Quimby 57). Such factors point toward Curtis' inability to make the "tribal" present suspend itself in the service of filmically reconstructing a Westerner's fantasy of the native past.

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[45] Curtis told many tall tales about his own heroics in filming *In the Land of the Headhunters*. On several occasions, he phantasmatically re-imagined the whale used for filming as being alive, arguing once that the whale broke his hip when "its tail crashed down on his canoe" (Makepeace 136). Moreover, in a 1915 review entitled "Filming the Head-Hunters: How 'The Vanishing Race' is Being Preserved in Moving Pictures," Curtis is quoted recalling the whale hunt and asserting: "the whale put up a hard fight. Killing a ninety-foot amphibian and towing him back to shore is no easy morning's diversion, I can assure you" (qtd. in Holm and Quimby 124). Thus, it seems that Curtis' knack for imaginatively reconstructing native origins crossed over to the imaginative reconstruction of his own life.

Holm and Quimby's assertion that "[a]ll the actors were paid, the amount usually mentioned was fifty cents per day" raises additional questions about complex negotiations of aboriginal identity (59). Such payment further suggests that First Peoples were neither so intimidated by Curtis nor so awed by his movie-making technology that they would have participated free of charge. Rather, their involvement was a resourceful way of procuring or supplementing a livelihood in a changing economy contoured by colonial contact. The kinds of social status, economic privilege, and interpretive influence accorded to native informants and interpreters such as George Hunt—who helped direct *Headhunters*—would have been well known within aboriginal communities at the time and, thus, may have been an incentive for participation.[46] From within this position of informancy, resistance to colonial authority may have been strategically enacted. In his "Reminiscence of George Hunt," Curtis recalls once finding the informant in stitches about the misinformation that had been subversively told to a missionary. Imagining himself to be "in" on the joke, Curtis reflects: "The Indians seldom try to hoodwink the man whose manner unconsciously shows that he understands them. But once let them become aware that you are gullible and you are doomed to hear all the absurdities their active imagination can invent" ("Reminiscence of George Hunt" 104). While Curtis clearly regarded himself as "the man whose manner unconsciously shows" understanding of native culture, his overabundance of self-confidence and deficit of self-reflexivity may well have rendered him a target for similar sorts of "hoodwinking." For as Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman argue, Hunt took some creative "liberties" as an informant: "The complexity of Hunt's relationship to 'Kwakiutl tradition' is apparent in his work with Edward S. Curtis, where his sense of humor and interest in lurid and dramatic stories were richly apparent. Hunt generally suppressed these characteristics in his collaboration with Boas, where he adopted a distanced, objective voice" (493). The suggestion that Hunt indulged his own interests and dramatic flair in his work with Curtis points toward a form of creative agency and interpretive influence—however problematic in its own ways—in the process of acting as a native informant and shaping ethnographic records. By substituting his own imagined mythologies that played to Western stereotypes of "Indianness" for the elusive "authenticity" Curtis purportedly searched for, George Hunt gained social currency and economic benefit while subverting the supposedly authoritative process of ethnographic documentation.

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[46] One aspect of the filmmaking process that seems to demonstrate a form of aboriginal agency is the involvement of George Hunt. Many of the principal actors involved in the filming were relatives of Hunt and, in this way, the interpreter secured work and money for his family. Although a handful of the original actors who were still alive in the 1990s were interviewed in several films and books, the narratives—almost always written or produced by Euro-American researchers—persistently reiterate the trope of the "happy Indian" awed by the white man's technologies and giddy to participate in the production of such films. Holm and Quimby assert that the actors' salaries are "always described as 'good pay for those days'" (59-61). Assertions such as these implicitly suggest that Curtis took care not to exploit his native actors and was a benevolent director. In T.C. McLuhan's documentary film *The Shadow Catcher: Edward S. Curtis and the North American Indian* (1974), prominent First Nations writer and curator Gloria Cranmer Webster interviews three of the surviving actors involved in Curtis' film. While Webster admits that the film is "hokey," she also says that native peoples participated in the filmmaking process because "they had a lot of fun." In contrast, Mrs. Helen Knox of Fort Rupert—a First Nations actor in the 1914 film—asserts in the same documentary that Curtis "had quite a temper" when directing his cast. My thanks to Heather Zwicker for prompting me to consider in more detail questions of agency with regard to the aboriginal actors involved in Curtis' photographic and filmic projects.

While moments of resistance may lurk behind the scenes of *In the Land of the Headhunters*, the images Curtis constructed on celluloid and projected on movie screens were that of a static culture, frozen in the past and destined to extinction. In his 1916 book *The Art of the Moving Picture*, film critic Vachel Lindsay extols Curtis' film as a supreme cinematic achievement. Rather than marking a contrast between Curtis' photography and filmmaking, however, Lindsay articulates a compelling link between the two modes of representation:

> Mr. Edward S. Curtis, the super-photographer, has made an ethnological collection of photographs of our American Indians. This work of a life-time, a supreme art achievement, shows the native as a *figure in bronze*. Mr. Curtis' photoplay, The Land of the Head Hunters (World Film Corporation), a romance of the Indians of the North-West, abounds in *noble bronzes*. (86) [my emphasis]

According to Lindsay, then, both Curtis' photographic and filmic salvage ethnography projects represent "the native as a figure in bronze." While the notion of "bronzing" is often understood as a kind of memorializing technique, its application to the work of "preserving" the native other seems particularly insidious. Specifically, Lindsay's metaphor of "bronzing" the "Indian" plays on colonialism's key signifier of difference—the racial epidermal schema—and, thus, malevolently reinscribes the stereotype of the "red", "copper," and/or "bronze-skin" primitive. Equally important, Lindsay's reference to "bronzing" also underscores the way that Curtis' photographic and filmic "preservation" reproduces native bodies as statuary. Although bronzing is often conceptualized as an ennobling process, the work of statuary production here hinges upon the reductive framing of the native other as a monument to American national prehistory, not the celebration of aboriginal cultures in their own right. Thus, rather than re-animating the "Indian" and bringing him back to "life" via the powers of technology, Curtis' salvage ethnography re-casts the aboriginal in a static mold, bronzed and memorialized as a nostalgic tribute to that which is always already dead to the era of Western progress. What is most salient to the argument I am expounding throughout this chapter, however, is the way Lindsay's concept of "bronzing" unwittingly underscores how Curtis' film does not transcend the stillness of photography but, rather, continues to produce stasis within the very guise of motion.

While stasis effects are inscribed in distinct and yet related ways in Curtis' early twentieth-century photography and film, I also want to suggest that such effects are exacerbated in the 1973 reconstruction of *In the Land of the Headhunters*. Accordingly, I want to now add another layer to my analysis by overlapping the 1914 and 1973 versions of *In the Land of the Headhunters*. In the process, I will argue that the reconstruction of Curtis' film further complicates the pernicious ideological implications of this seminal text in the field of early ethnographic cinema.

Becoming Documentary

At the beginning of the 1973 reconstruction, credit for the production is attributed via two consecutive intertitles. The first intertitle announces: "Story Written and Picture Made in 1914 by Edward S. Curtis" [Figure 24]. The second intertitle then comments: "Edited by Professor George Irving Quimby and Professor Bill Holm" [Figure 25]. Attempting to mark a clear distinction between the major work of production in 1914 and the ostensibly minor task of "editing" in the 1970s, the introductory credits suggest that Curtis' original film remains largely intact in the 1973 reconstruction. By containing the interventions of Holm and Quimby within the rubric of "editing," the opening credits disavow the heavy re-working and manipulation of the original footage involved in the recuperation of Curtis' "photo-drama" as a "documentary." In this way, the introductory intertitles strive to assert the authenticity-value of the 1973 reconstruction and, thus, frame *War Canoes* as a relatively "untouched" archive of early twentieth-century anthropological fieldwork.[47]

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[47] Although Holm and Quimby as well as Russell at times refer to *In the Land of the War Canoes* as a "restored" film, I will instead use the term "reconstruction" to denote the 1973 text. Although the Oxford English Dictionary briefly uses the term "restore" to define "reconstruction" and vice versa, the connotations of the two terms do seem to differ in ways that are ideologically salient to this dissertation. Specifically, the concept of restoration often involves "bringing" something "back to the original state" or "as nearly as possible to its original form" (OED). In contrast, reconstruction frequently suggests "to construct anew" (OED) rather than necessarily attempting to exactly replicate an original. As Anne Whitelaw suggested in her reading of an earlier draft of this dissertation, referring to *War Canoes* as a

Also integral to the recuperation of Curtis' film as a documentary was the change in title from *In the Land of the Headhunters* to *In the Land of the War Canoes*. This alteration was intended to downplay the sensationalistic aspects of the film and to shift focus toward what Holm and Quimby perceived as one of the film's most ethnographically-valuable elements: the demonstration of great Kwakiutl canoes in motion (55). In so doing, Holm and Quimby sought to recuperate Curtis' film so as to minimize its racist indulgences and showcase it as a more sober ethnographic record of Kwakiutl rites and customs. This process, however, dissimulated the fact that Curtis' footage could never be re-made as an "authentic" record because its staging, costuming, and narrative information were always already the product of a Western fantasy of "primitive" otherness. Moreover, as I will demonstrate, in this second attempt at a kind of ethnographic salvaging of ethnography itself, Holm and Quimby encoded new forms of racial bias in their supposedly more objective text.

One of the most significant changes made by Holm and Quimby in their archival reconstruction was to replace the film's original intertitles with re-written and re-sequenced ones. My viewing of the 1914 footage held at the Burke archives corroborates Brad Evans' assertion that the majority of the original intertitles are by no means lost to

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"restored" film is an ideologically-loaded practice when one considers the fact that the "original" text has been fetishized as a lost object. When Holm and Quimby refer to their 1973 version as a restoration, they accord themselves the power to almost perfectly re-make that lost object while simultaneously disavowing the significant ways they changed and manipulated the surviving 1914 footage for their own purposes. Interestingly as well, the verb "to restore" has an additional meaning that is not commonly associated with the verb "to reconstruct": namely, "to give back, to make return [...] of anything previously taken away or lost" (OED). Due to the differences between these terms, I choose to categorize *War Canoes* as a reconstruction rather than a faithful restoration of an original.

history.[48] Although Holm and Quimby mention "the elimination of the original Curtis titles of the silent movie and the addition of our new titles" in their companion book to the film, they do so only in an appendix, offering no explanation for this significant intervention (*Edward S. Curtis in the Land of the War Canoes* 126). The *effects* of the re-written intertitles, however, speak volumes throughout the 1973 restored film. When the reconstructed version is compared to the 1914 footage, the impact of the intertitle restructuring upon the film's tone, narrative diegesis, and ideological contours is thrown into striking relief.[49]

The new intertitles in the 1973 reconstruction profoundly alter the tone of Curtis' original "photo-drama." In the introduction to his 1915 literary companion to the film—a novelistic version of the romantic melodrama also entitled *In the Land of the*

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[48] I want to note that the copy of Curtis' film I viewed at the Burke Museum corresponds exactly to the description and shot list of the Field Museum footage (including the order and content of intertitles) which Brad Evans outlines at the end of his *Visual Anthropology* essay.

[49] At another point in their book, Holm and Quimby describe their reconstruction process in terms of "editing and restoring the film and its titles"—a description that implies that the intertitles were "restored," not entirely re-written and reproduced in a new type-set (42). Although I will not be discussing the soundtrack that Holm and Quimby added to the reconstruction in detail, I want to briefly mention the impact of this soundtrack on the 1973 film. Without viewing a copy of the 1914 "original," Russell celebrates *In the Land of the War Canoes* as "a redemptive form of ethnography inspired by the virtual reappropriation of *Headhunters* by the Kwakiutl people" (56). The reconstruction, however, was conceptualized and produced by two Euro-American scholars affiliated with the neocolonial institution of the university and, more specifically, the discipline of anthropology. To support her argument, Russell contends that the new soundtrack added to *War Canoes*—a soundtrack which features untranslated Kwakiutl singing and speaking—effects "a radical separation of the text of the performers from the text of the author-filmmaker" (57). "The Kwakiutl," she asserts, "now dubbed in on the untranslated soundtrack, seem to have one film, and the anthropologist and non-Kwakiutl spectator have quite another" (57). In response, I want to note that the soundtrack was recorded at the Royal British Columbia Museum (another neocolonial institution) and was heavily edited and manipulated in order to synchronize the speaking, singing, and other sounds with the image-track and, thus, to create a striking affiliation—rather than separation—between the two. Moreover, although there could be interesting theoretical possibilities in creating a soundtrack that is not translated into the language of the colonizer, I am not sure that these possibilities are brought to fruition in the 1973 reconstruction. It seems, rather, that the Kwakiutl soundtrack in *War Canoes* is co-opted by the Western institutional machinery responsible for the reconstruction as an added element that augments the authenticity-value of the film.

Headhunters—Curtis comments that he attempted to write the story according to "the declamatory style of the tribal bards," at least as he imagined it (vii). Whether Curtis' appropriation of such a "declamatory style" was accurate or not (and it is probably safe to assume the latter), his own writing style was certainly consistent between the novel and film versions of *Headhunters*. In this sense, we can understand the intertitles in the 1914 film as inflected by Curtis' desire to reproduce "tribal" orature—a desire that results in a tone of over-the-top melodrama, of failed but flamboyant poetics. Moreover, in an effort to emphasize orature, Curtis' film frequently narrates via recourse to dialogue, marking direct speech from the characters' mouths with quotation marks and often providing little narratorial commentary to supplement these words. For example, near the beginning of the "photo-drama" when Motana attempts to woo Naida, the camera frames their silhouettes as they walk together on a coastal island. An intertitle punctuates the scene with the sentimental exclamation: "Oh! that I might go with you walking hand in hand along that misty path of copper!" (*ILH*).[50] Without an additional clause such as "Motana said" or "Naida exclaimed," the speaker of this statement remains unclear.[51] Curtis seems willing at times, however, to sacrifice narrative clarity for the sake of presenting orature in its supposedly "purest" form—or, more specifically, for the sake of suppressing signs of narratorial intervention and producing the illusion of free and unmediated speech. In this sense, Curtis' use of intertitled quotations to deliver direct speech is an integral aspect of the fantasy of *direct access* to the primitive other that *In the Land of the Headhunters* inculcates [Figure 26].

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[50] Hereafter, intertitles from the 1914 footage of Curtis' film will be denoted by a parenthetical reference to "*ILH*" (*In the Land of the Headhunters*). In contrast, reference to intertitles from the 1973 reconstruction will be denoted by a parenthetical reference to "*ILWC*" (*In the Land of the War Canoes*).

[51] An almost identical quotation appears on page 18 of Curtis' novel form of *In the Land of the Headhunters*. Here as well, there is no clause that identifies the speaker. If one follows the order of dialogue, however, it is possible to discern that the likely speaker is Naida. Evans also identifies the intertitle in the film with the speaking voice of Naida, although I maintain that there is sufficient ambiguity for the speaker to be either Motana or Naida. What seems more pressing to Curtis, rather than explicitly marking the speaker, is providing access to a character's voice without noticeable narrative intervention.

In a striking point of contrast, the 1973 reconstruction attempts to erase the melodramatic elements of the 1914 text by expunging all character dialogue from the intertitles. The new intertitles, in turn, are written in a hegemonic, monotonal voice of ethnographic authority—a voice of distanced and ostensibly objective "informational" and "scientific" narration. Further reinforcing this authoritative tone, the 1973 film replaces the elaborate framing style of the original intertitles—each surrounded by an artistic border featuring Kwakiutl designs reminiscent of totem pole carvings—with new intertitles written in a plain typeset and stripped bare of any decoration.[52] By altering the film's tone via the re-writing and re-styling of the intertitles, therefore, the 1973 version attempts to rescue *Headhunters* from the kitschiness of its own melodramatic narrative and reincarnate it as a more sober ethnographic text. What Holm and Quimby seem to overlook in the process, however, is that they have substituted one romance for another. Specifically, in seeking to overwrite Curtis' romance of reincarnating pre-contact Kwakiutl lifeways, *In the Land of the War Canoes* inscribes the romance of ethnography itself—the fantasy of maintaining detachment and scientific objectivity in the very process of fetishistically recuperating a glimpse of the so-called lost other. In so doing, Holm and Quimby contour their reconstruction with a deeply fraught process of "becoming documentary" that attempts to validate the authenticity of a manipulated construction of "primitive" otherness.

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[52] Evans also notes the striking difference in design style between the 1914 intertitles and those of the reconstructed version (223).

While the alteration of intertitle style in the 1973 version reinforces the authoritative or documentary affect of Curtis' film, the new, plain typeset also helps to set up a crucial disjuncture between the image-track (the visual footage of Kwakiutl bodies in motion) and the intertitle narration.[53] By inscribing the intertitles in an impersonal, modern typeface, the reconstruction marks a pronounced distance between the anthropological scientific commentary and the spectacular images of supposedly pre-contact Kwakiutl life. The problem of disjuncture between intertitles and image-track, however, is most significantly exacerbated by the fact that Holm and Quimby's reconstruction drastically reduces the total number of intertitles and alters their placement throughout the film. As Evans notes in his comparative analysis of *Headhunters* and *War Canoes*: "[i]n its original state, the drama is fluently narrated by 47 intertitles; the remake has compressed this information into a mere 18 intertitles, leaving large narrative gaps between scenes" (222).[54] In other words, while the original film develops a smoother movement and a more consistent, routinized alternation between image-track and intertitles, the reconstructed version renders intertitles so condensed and sporadically infrequent that when they do appear, they register as significant moments of interruption.

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[53] Although in a strict sense filmic intertitles may be considered part of the image-track, I want to separate these two concepts—or to inscribe a strategic heuristic split between "images" (bodies in motion/scenery, etc.) and linguistic text (written narrative explanation)—for the purposes of understanding the way that *In the Land of the Headhunters* marks a significant distinction and disjuncture between the two.

[54] While Evans points out the radical compacting of intertitles in the 1973 reconstruction, his interpretation and emphasis upon the ramifications of such changes differ from my own analysis in important ways.

Throughout *War Canoes*, the disjuncture between the intertitles and the image-track is contoured by both spatial and temporal planes. In terms of spatiality, the reconstructed version of Curtis' documentary divides the film into two distinct worlds: (1.) the "primeval" world of the Kwakiutl, contained within the images of so-called traditional customs and rites; and (2.) the "modern" world of the Western anthropologist (and, by extension, the world of the white spectator), invested with the omniscient capacity to watch over and interpret the inarticulate space of the native other via the intervening power of intertitles. Implicit in this description of the spatial borders established in *War Canoes* is a concomitant temporal division. By juxtaposing the "primeval" world of the Kwakiutl image-track against the "modern" world of Western anthropological commentary, Holm and Quimby's reconstruction effectively reinscribes colonial discourse's denial of coevalness—the relegation of the native other to a discrete and anterior temporal realm. In this context, I argue that the 1973 reconstruction of

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Evans writes from the perspective of a film historian interested in many of the technical accomplishments of Curtis' 1914 film. In this vein, he argues: "The restored version belies the fact that the original version of Curtis's film exhibits a remarkable degree of dramatic coherence given his limited resources" (224). Summing up his comparative reading of *Headhunters* and *War Canoes*, Evans asserts: "[J]udging the film's political merits is not ultimately the point. Rather, what we need to recognize is the extent to which the 'restored' version radically distorts the achievement of Curtis's original film" (224). In contrast, I believe that the political stakes involved in ethnographic filmmaking and in archival reconstruction are precisely what demands urgent critical attention. Whether explicitly intended or not, the aesthetic, stylistic, and structural changes made to *Headhunters* work together in profound ways to reinforce and even accentuate many of the key ideological tenets of Western anthropology in Curtis' own era. As a result, the technical, formal, and even aesthetic aspects of Curtis' film are inextricably linked to its political and ideological messages.

Curtis' film inscribes, through the disjuncture between intertitles and image-track, an allochronic division between the "modern" time of ethnographic interpretation and the "primitive" time of the native other.

These complex temporal dynamics are exacerbated throughout *War Canoes* via a process of time-lagging set in motion by the film. Because the 1973 version condenses the intertitles from 47 to 18, the new intertitles bear the burden of compressing a great deal of narrative information into each type-written frame. As a result, each intertitle summarizes the plot and highlights what it considers to be salient ethnographic detail so far in advance of the extended filmic sequences that the image-track seems belated, delayed in acting out the predictions of the written narrative commentary. For example, after Motana kills the brother of his arch-rival, the warrior Yaklus, his enemy responds by embarking upon a violent rampage. While the original film moves fluently between images and written commentary throughout this section, using four separate intertitles to explain the plot [Figures 27-31], the reconstructed version condenses the subsequent events into one extremely lengthy intertitle at the beginning of the sequence. The intertitle states:

> Motana and Naida return with pomp to Kenada's village, but Yaklus, brother of the slain sorcerer, learns of his brother's death and goes to war for revenge. He attacks whomever he meets: first a party of fishermen, then a group of clam diggers, and then a band of travelers. (*ILWC*)

During a segment that is supposed to pivot upon narrative suspense, the new intertitle deflates any sense of tension or surprise by cataloguing Yaklus' revenge in a disinterested tone, itemizing each attack well before it is played out in the imagistic footage [Figure 32].

The disjuncture between intertitles and image-track initially registers as a problem of attention—a disruption of the spectator's "*diegetic absorption* into the universe presented by the sequence of animated images" (Gaudreault 279).[55] In the original 1914 footage, the frequent movement between intertitles and images, rather than acting as a narrative interruption, becomes a regularized and naturalized form of exchange. Paradoxically, then, it is the very process of routinized intertitle mediation that effectively enables the spectator to become absorbed in the melodramatic narrative. By pacing a kind of dialogic exchange between the written intertitles and the corresponding actions, the 1914 film is able to build suspense, denouement, and closure with immediacy at the appropriate moments throughout the film. In contrast, the 1973 reconstruction of Curtis' film fails to establish any kind of regularized pace that can occlude the mediating influence of the intertitles. Because the written ethnographic commentary arrives so infrequently and is so lengthy and dense when it does appear, it ruptures any sense of diegetic absorption. As a result, the spectator is not drawn into the plot but, rather, positioned as a distanced ethnographic observer of "documentary," not "melodrama."

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[55] The italics in the above quotation are Gaudreault's own. Here, Gaudreault discusses one of the key elements of narrative cinema (also referred to as "classical cinema" during its early stages). Because Gaudreault is writing in the context of early cinema history, his reference to "animated images" is not to modern animation and digital techniques of production as we understand them today but, rather, to the animation of bodies and things in motion in an image-track. Initially, it might seem more plausible to imagine that the original 1914 footage, with its frequent movement between images and intertitles, would disrupt the spectator's "diegetic absorption" and more transparently register the cinematic mediation of Kwakiutl lifeways, and that the 1973 reconstruction, by contrast, might seem more capable of cultivating the ethnographic fantasy of unmediated access to the native other, depicting long stretches of uninterrupted image-track ostensibly emancipated from anthropological interpretation. The overall effects, however, are more complicated than such an hypothesis can account for, as I go on to argue.

What first appears as a problem of attention, however, is actually a complex ideological dynamic. By condensing the narrative commentary of the intertitles far in advance of the corresponding events of the image-track, *War Canoes* constitutes the white spectator (focalized and positioned as a pseudo-anthropologist) as always already ahead of and, thus, fundamentally superior to the perpetually belated natives captured on celluloid. This structure of time-lagging, I contend, is one of the most crucial ways that stasis effects are encoded throughout the 1973 film. By constructing an allochronic division between the intertitles (representing the "modern" world of the Western anthropologist) and the image-track that limps behind (representing the "primitive" world of the Kwakiutl), *War Canoes* effectively frames the native other in the near-stasis of a *perpetual slow motion*.

Unpacking the ideological implications of the ostensibly detached ethnographic gaze, Johannes Fabian comments: "Observation conceived as the essence of fieldwork implies, on the side of the ethnographer, a contemplative stance. It invokes the 'naturalist' watching an experiment. It also calls for a native society that would, ideally at least, hold still like a *tableau vivant*" (67). Constituting the spectator as a "contemplative" ethnographer "watching an experiment," *War Canoes* does manage to make a native society "hold still" even as it purports to record Kwakiutl ceremonies in motion. Yet while Fabian likens the fixing of the ethnographic gaze to the freeze-frame of the *tableau vivant*, I want to suggest a more precise way to conceptualize this process with reference to a related mode of representation—namely, taxidermy. Similar to the *tableau vivant*, taxidermy manipulates bodies in stylized postures. What differentiates these two representational modes, however, is the crucial element of "preservation": while the *tableau vivant* is about a *moment* of reconstruction where an iconic image is temporarily re-staged via a mute and statuesque form of play-acting, taxidermy's frozen pose is ostensibly made to last forever. Taxidermy is a posture that purports to preserve and to monumentalize, to defeat time. Rather than wanting the native other to "hold still" for just a moment, the fieldworker committed to the project of salvage ethnography attempts to "pause" aboriginal peoples for all time, captured and preserved in celluloid form.

Another key difference between the *tableau vivant* and the kind of "holding still" at stake in Curtis' filmmaking project hinges upon the categories of life and death. As its name suggests, *tableaux vivant*, or "living pictures," trades on the fact that the figure posed in the semblance of an iconic image is a living, animate subject who is temporarily play-acting. In contrast, taxidermy necessitates that the body framed in a pose of liveness is actually dead. For the salvaging fieldworker, capturing and preserving images on celluloid pauses the native other for perpetuity; even his or her body is supposedly doomed to extinction. In this sense, Curtis' photographs and film are not "living pictures" but, rather, preserved records of the dead that will obediently "hold still" for the future of anthropological observation and research. As Curtis' documentary powerfully demonstrates, the "ideal" pose fixed under the ethnographic gaze is a taxidermic one that monumentalizes the other as fundamentally dead and, thus, only reconstructible via the powers of the anthropologist. Under the illusion of movement, *In the Land of the War Canoes* builds upon the taxidermically preserved native spectacle constructed by Curtis, accentuating the stasis effects encoded in the original film and reinscribing the colonial discourse of the vanishing Indian, frozen in the static state of a primeval past and so dead to the future.

Still in Circulation

If, in 1908, Edmond Meany and the publishers of *The World's Work* believed that Curtis' project of "Hunting Indians with a Camera" was particularly salient to "A History of [their] Time," roughly one hundred years later, I argue that a critical return to Curtis' work is also crucial in the present tense. Today, the mass reproduction and consumption of Curtis' images in North American society and beyond points to the ongoing fetishization of and nostalgia for the "vanishing Indian"—and, in more general terms, the persistent appeal of colonialist and racist ideology for maintaining the status quo of dominant white, bourgeois culture. Moreover, the mass reproduction of these texts suggests that, via processes of commercial mobility in contemporary society, the insidious stasis effects of Curtis' salvage ethnography are perpetuated in the present tense. For these reasons, it is important to consider how an historicized analysis of photographic and filmic salvaging might, in turn, enable a politicized critique of prominent social spaces where Curtis' images are now re-displayed.

One key site where Curtis' material is significantly recirculated is the First Peoples Gallery at the Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM) in Victoria. While the current structure of this permanent installation incorporates Curtis' photography and a film clip from *War Canoes* in deeply problematic ways, I hope that a critical analysis of this exhibition might prompt important changes in the RBCM's strategies of display. In turn, even minor changes in the installation space could go a long way toward challenging the status of ethnographic authority often accorded to Curtis' images while also sparking thought about the political stakes of museological nostalgia for ostensibly lost native authenticity. Initially designed and developed in the mid-1970s by Euro-North American anthropologists and curatorial staff (Corley-Smith 29), the First Peoples Gallery is an example of what James Clifford terms a "majority museum"—an institution operated by dominant culture, often concerned with narrativizing "history" with a hegemonic "national slant" ("Four … Museums" 225). In the main body of the exhibit, only minimal changes have occured since the time of its initial production.[56] Designed in a "black-box" (or dimly lit, compartmentalized, and contained) style, the First Peoples

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[56] The full title of the installation, as currently posted (that is, April 2003) on a large sign at the entrance, is "First Peoples: Aboriginal Cultures in British Columbia." My assertion about minimal change to the exhibition is based on a reading of Peter Corley-Smith's discussion regarding the development of the RBCM in *The Ring of Time: The Story of the British Columbia Provincial Museum*, and on my own research in the photographic archives of the museum. The only exception occurs at the very end of the exhibition, in a final hallway, where a display regarding the 2000 ratification of the Nisga'a Treaty marks a newly added space of supposed closure.

Gallery "creates a dark, wholly interior environment where sequence and viewpoint are controlled for explicitly didactic purposes" (Clifford "Four … Museums" 222). Directing visitors along a chronological path, the installation is divided into two main sections: the first, "Pre-Contact," detailing the relations between aboriginal peoples and their environments in British Columbia (and often reinscribing colonial discourse's discursive affiliations between "nature" and "natives"); the second, "Contact," tracing "a period of great change" due to the arrival of European explorers (*RBCM* caption).[57] As a way of critiquing the First Peoples Gallery in specific terms, I will discuss one example from each section of the installation and then theorize how critical interventions might help to re-contour the museum's displays.

Curtis' photographs appear quite early along the installation's directed path. In the "Pre-Contact" section, large black and white photo-murals are framed at the back of glass cases filled with items such as spears and cedar baskets in order to provide an imagistic context for artifacts-in-use during activities such as water-gathering, fish spearing, and canoeing. As well, an entire row of Curtis photo-murals line a long dark corridor, depicting scenes of Kwakiutl wedding parties in carved canoes. In the bottom right-hand corner of each photo-mural, a title, Curtis' name, and the date of photograph copyright is printed. What seems difficult to reconcile throughout this "Pre-Contact" section is that the very presence of photographs necessarily signifies a time *after*, rather than prior to, European colonial interventions in British Columbia. Perhaps the most salient problem that the "Pre-Contact" display throws into relief, then, is how the installation's deployment of Curtis' images exacerbates the very fantasy of technological time travel back to a native state of nature that was so pivotal to *The North American Indian* project itself. By positioning Curtis' photographs as authoritative records of "traditional" native lifeways and as pedagogical documents for contextualizing artifacts on display, the First Peoples Gallery strategically occludes any recognition of the constructedness of Curtis' images and the "doctoring" he engaged in to produce illusions of aboriginal purity in an era of hybridity and colonial violence. In so doing, the First Peoples Gallery effectively manipulates time once again, performing a museological sleight of hand by overwriting the disjuncture between Curtis' twentieth-century photographs and the "Pre-Contact" era. In collusion with Curtis' fantasy of living in the early 1900s and yet being able to capture glimpses of an aboriginal past, the First Peoples Gallery effectively reinscribes the allochronism of anthropological discourse, freezing the native other in a static sphere of colonial fantasy separate from the movement of Western history.

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[57] My parenthetical reference here to "(*RBCM* caption)" signifies the way I will cite the actual written text of the First Peoples Gallery, as printed on explanatory panels throughout the installation.

When "Contact" arrives in the First Peoples Gallery, the museum-goer is promptly welcomed into its era by footage from the 1973 version of Curtis' documentary. Flanked on either side by Coast Salish houseposts, a large television screen displays a scene depicting the arrival of a wedding party travelling toward shore in canoes [Figure 33].[58] As the reconstruction's soundtrack of Kwakiutl singing plays softly in the background, a voice-over of a man reading a journal entry in an erudite British accent takes acoustic precedence. Although the reader/writer is not identified, the visitor is led to believe—based on information posted on surrounding walls regarding Captain Cook's Pacific Northwest "discoveries"—that the entry is from Cook's journal, describing his landing at Friendly Cove in 1778. Because this voice-over has such a significant impact on the visitor's reception of the film footage, I quote the passage in its entirety:

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[58] Although no signage is posted in this display describing the subject matter of the houseposts, Dr. Martha Black, Curator of Ethnology for the RBCM, has commented in email correspondence that the Salish

> March 31st, 1778: The Indians surrounded the ship with their canoes. Those alongside performed a dance, or whatever else it might be called, in which the principal performer appeared in a mask which was made of wood, not badly carved, and painted in the manner they generally do their faces. Over his body was thrown a fine large skin with the hair outward and a neat border worked around the edges of it. Thus accoutred, he jumped up and down in his canoe with his arms extended. He moved his head different ways and shaked his fingers briskly. While he was acting in this manner, all the other Indians sat down in their canoes and sung in concert and struck the sides of their canoes with the butt end of their paddles keeping exact time. Upon the whole, it was as wild and uncouth a performance as any we had ever seen. (*RBCM* voice-over)

Via this voice-over, the museum-goer becomes Captain Cook by proxy, gazing at the film as though it represents the very same "dance, or whatever else it might be called," witnessed by the European explorer 225 years ago. In the process, the spectator is conditioned to view the native other as fiercely primitive—as "wild and uncouth"—perhaps more so than if he or she had been able to watch the footage without the powerful interpretive slant of the journal entry. Although an historicized consideration of film technology's birth in the early 1900s ought to disrupt the museum's (and Curtis')

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houseposts are "First Nations representations of white men." Perhaps this part of the display is supposed to "balance" Western representations of aboriginal groups with First Nations representations of Westerners. That said, I contend that the museum installation is overwhelmingy skewed toward Euro-American depictions (and stereotypes) of native otherness.

fantasy of capturing the moment of colonial contact on celluloid, the display of Curtis' footage in conjunction with the 1778 journal entry strongly encourages the visitor to believe in the scene screened before his/her eyes and to unskeptically regard the clip from *War Canoes* as an authentic portrayal of "Indianness" in its so-called state of nature.

Further complicating this screening of footage from *War Canoes*, the excerpt read in the voice-over is not actually from the journal of Captain Cook but, rather, from the notes of the ship's surgeon, David Samwell.[59] Thus, the voice-over sets in motion a chain of substitutions that recalls Curtis' own filmmaking strategies. Much as Curtis indifferently substituted multiple actors to play the same character, the First Peoples Gallery uses a 1973 reconstruction of Curtis' phantasmatic reproduction of pre-contact Kwakiutl lifeways in 1914 Port Hardy to stand in for the unrecoverable moment of Captain Cook's encounter with the Mowachaht of Friendly Cove in 1778.[60] In turn, Captain Cook's written description of this event is substituted for David Samwell's account. Although the list of substitutions outlined here seem both syntactically and conceptually dizzying, the display appears to mask its conflation of multiple different contexts with ease. In so doing, the installation once again suggests that, when it comes to representing aboriginal cultures, temporality and historicity are irrelevant. As a result, the exhibition reinforces an allochronic division between the *chronos* of Western progress and the atemporality of a supposedly now-dead race.

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[59] After searching for this particular entry in multiple editions of Captain Cook's journals, I was unable to find the quoted passage. As a result, I contacted Dr. Martha Black, Curator of Ethnology at the Royal British Columbia Museum, who faxed me a copy of the passage, complete with editing notes from the original designers of the First Peoples Gallery, which reveal the excerpt's origin in Samwell's journal (as published in an appendix to the Hakluyt Society edition of Cook's journal). Thus, rather than drawing from Cook's journal, the original curators took a passage from a more obscure source that is extremely inflammatory and extravagant in its description of "primitive" natives. Moreover, the editing notes on the pages I received demonstrate that the selected sentences are some of the most sensational dispersed throughout a lengthy passage.

[60] Another explanatory panel in the introductory hallway to the "Contact" section mentions Cook's first encounter as being with the Mowachaht of Friendly Cove. In his study of the Captain's travel journals, historian Daniel Clayton also notes that Cook's first moment of contact was with the Nuu-chah-nulth people of Nootka Sound on the west coast of Vancouver Island—a landmark Cook first sighted on 29 March 1778 (99). While Clayton's assertion may initially cause confusion, it is important to note that the Nuu-chah-nulth Tribal Council represents 14 first nations on Vancouver Island, including the Mowachaht of Friendly Cove (also known as Yoquot) in the northern region of Nootka sound (http://www.nuuchahnulth.org/welcome.htm). A Mowachaht website also notes that Captain Cook first "landed at the cove in 1778 and claimed the land for England" (http://www.yoquot.ca/history.htm).

In their companion text to the 1973 reconstruction, Holm and Quimby argue that "[o]ne of the greatest ethnological values of the Curtis film is in the depiction of objects in use that are known to most people today only as artifacts in museums or as pictures or descriptions in books" (85). Casting conventional museological display as a static form of representation, Holm and Quimby suggest that through filmic reconstruction, artifacts (where carvings, canoes, and bodies are conflated under the same rubric) may be re-animated, returned to motion, and thus reproduced in more authentic and lifelike ways. This resonates with James Clifford's interpretation of the First Peoples Gallery. Describing the effects of screening Curtis' film footage, Clifford remarks: "It is mesmerizing to see these familiar masks and canoes in motion" ("Four … Museums" 216). While Clifford implies that the installation's screening of *War Canoes* helps to transcend the stillness of the museum, I want to suggest that the effects of motion in this display operate as a cover for ideological stasis. More specifically, Clifford's comment fails to acknowledge that the "masks and canoes in motion" in the 1973 film appear "familiar" to the spectator because they have been artifactualized to the point of ubiquity by museum displays. Despite the fact that Clifford suggests that there is something "mesmerizing" or new or innovative about the objects' recontextualization in Curtis' film, the masks and canoes continue to appear "familiar" even in motion precisely because they continue to be fixed by the parameters of the ethnographic gaze.

While my analysis of the First Peoples Gallery at the RBCM demonstrates how the installation is, in many ways, deeply troubled by colonialist and racist ideology, I also contend that there are many ways to begin strategizing for change within this museological space. In this vein, I want to offer some concrete, practical suggestions for incorporating greater self-reflexivity and debate into the exhibition. It is important to note, however, that the changes I want to propose are not ends in themselves; rather, they are starting points in an ongoing process that necessitates negotiation and vigilant institutional self-scrutiny. Moreover, none of the suggestions I am formulating are infallible solutions. Because museum space is, in many senses, a contingent site where meaning is produced in conjunction with each visitor, it is difficult to predict how any modification to an exhibition might engender new problems of interpretation. A critical challenge for museological representations of First Peoples, then, is to continuously reconsider the ways in which colonialist and racist ideology perpetually re-shapes itself in the present tense. Such an ongoing interrogation is crucial for helping to prevent museum curators as well as cultural critics from representing colonial and racial discourses themselves as ontologically taxidermic—as dead or frozen, fixed in familiar and easily identifiable formations. Instead, it is imperative to recognize that such discourses are very much alive and dangerously malleable in our current era. As a result, one important strategy for preventing the fixation of colonial and racial discourses in museum displays is to emphasize dialogue rather than closure and to remain reflexive about the ways that installations may both reinscribe such discourses and potentially spark moments of resistance.

With regard to the use of photographs in the First Peoples Gallery, I want to re-assert that by reproducing Curtis' pictures along with his own titles such as *Kwakiutl Girl*, *Coast Salish Woman*, *et cetera*, the exhibition perpetuates and even exacerbates the perception that such images depict typical representatives of a vanished race. Instead of merely re-framing Curtis' images along with his captions and quotations, the installation could initiate a dialogue—rather than a monotone narrative of ethnographic authority—about the constructedness of the photographs. By adding new information and textual panels to the installation regarding Curtis' desire to reconstruct his own fantasies of native life prior to contact, the First Peoples Gallery could contest dominant framing strategies for Curtis' pictures and thereby offer alternative vantage points for re-viewing these images. In so doing, the exhibition could draw attention to the problems of temporality and authenticity operative in Curtis' work, demonstrating that his photographs taken in the early twentieth century hinged upon a fantasy of travelling back in time through the lens of the camera. Moreover, by engaging in further research to recover the names of the ostensibly nameless representatives of the "vanishing race," the exhibit could attempt to counteract the taxidermic violence of *The North American Indian* and its work of reproducing native peoples as ciphers of "Indianness."

In an article published in *BC Studies* in 2000, Nuu-chah-nulth member Gloria Jean Frank persuasively articulates a case for including the proper names of many of the people depicted in Curtis' photographs. Cross-referencing the pictures displayed in the installation with a corresponding explanation provided in the 1992 edition of the *Royal British Columbia Museum Exhibit Highlights*, Frank draws attention to the following statement from the guidebook: "Faces convey powerful impressions. The names and deeds of these individuals are lost to us" (qtd. in Frank 171). In resistance to the museum's fetishization of the "lost" native other, Frank demonstrates that "even a limited amount of community research might reveal that the names and deeds of others among those faces on display are not" irretrievable (171). "In fact, some of the names of the individuals portrayed in the Curtis photographs are available in the records of the museum's own photographic archives," while other aboriginal people photographed by Curtis have already been identified by researchers.[61]

Frank's essay demonstrates that intellectual critique *can* prompt modifications of museum discourses. Shortly after the publication of the article in *BC Studies*—an academic journal that circulates widely in the museological network of British

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[61] Here, Frank gives the example of a woman named Virginia Tom who appears in one of the Curtis photographs. Tom is identified in the same picture in Ruth Kirk's book *Wisdom of the Elders: Native Traditions on the Northwest Coast, The Nuu-chah-nulth, Southern Kwakiutl and Nuxalk*. As well, Frank identifies the person in the *Kwakiutl Woman* photograph as Francine Hunt (171).

Columbia—the 2001 edition of the *Royal British Columbia Museum Exhibit Highlights* offered an altered narrative of the Curtis portraits:

> Powerful expressions dominate our display on population decline in the mid 19th century. Photographer Edward Curtis shot these portraits between 1899 and 1915; he often posed his subjects in traditional clothing, attempting to portray aboriginal peoples as they dressed around the time of contact with Europeans. (22)

While the current of critique is still timid in this description, there is a profound difference between the 1992 and 2001 editions of the *Exhibit Highlights*. Rather than fetishizing "lost" members of a vanishing race, the new narrative begins to grapple with the constructedness of Curtis' images and the political stakes of such representations. Yet, the passage still subtly suggests that, although Curtis manipulated his subject matter, he did so in a way that effectively reproduced realistic likenesses of "traditional" native peoples "around the time of contact with Europeans," rather than constructing his own fantasies of that era. Moreover, the changes made in the 2001 *Exhibit Highlights* remain contained within a guidebook sold only in the museum gift shop. A necessary next step, therefore, is to initiate such discussions within the space of the installation itself.

In terms of screening an excerpt from *War Canoes* in the First Peoples Gallery, the first suggestion I have to offer would involve only minor effort on the part of the museum staff. Accordingly, it might be termed a suggestion in the negative: turn off the voice-over of David Samwell's journal entry.[62] While I am not a proponent of a belief in discourses of museological facticity, it seems imperative that an exhibition not be egregious in its disregard for historical context, that it be vigilant in its attempt to provide historical specificity. By eliminating the voice-over of Samwell's diary, the display could at least prevent the conflation of Curtis' filmic portrayal of a Kwakiutl wedding ceremony with Captain Cook's moment of encounter with the Mowachaht of Friendly Cove. While the apparent simplicity of this suggestion is appealing, it is important to also critically hypothesize the complex ramifications that such a change could engender. By turning off the voice-over, it is possible that the exhibit could silence any dissonance the journal entry might prompt for some museumgoers and, thus, further mask the RBCM's relation to colonial violence. I remain skeptical, though, about how much dissonance the voice-over actually does produce for the majority of visitors who seem to pause only momentarily to view the brief clip from *War Canoes* and then proceed along the scripted path of the exhibit. As a result, perhaps alternate strategies could be implemented to disrupt the museum's use of Curtis' film and to initiate a critical dialogue around the politics of representation. Currently, a small sign posted on the corner of a wall denotes the film as being made by Edward Curtis in 1973 (thus inscribing another conflation of the original and reconstructed versions of the film). Instead, the Gallery could more prominently foreground the source of the footage with a larger explanatory panel. As well, information could be posted regarding the fact that the film is a

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[62] The suggestions I am outlining here are purposely designed to involve little work or expenditure for museum staff. This strategy is based upon a recognition of the way dominant institutions operate and, in particular, the way the RBCM, as a newly formed Crown Corporation in April 2003, is focused upon economics in an era of arguably declining popular interest in museum culture. To my mind, the political

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strategy of offering suggestions that would not involve major structural changes is a tactic of leaving a dominant institution with little excuse to not consider such modifications of current display techniques.

subjective and stereotypical Euro-North American interpretation, produced in the early twentieth century, of pre-contact Kwakiutl culture.

One final suggestion I would make for the screening of *War Canoes* in the First Peoples Gallery (and whether it should be screened at all is still very much open for debate) regards the length of footage displayed. In its present state, the video projection repeatedly loops only a short scene from the film—a scene chosen, I suspect, for its "authentic" feel and its absence of intervening intertitles. By looping a brief sequence over and over again, the film seems to be stuck like a skipping record, caught in its own kinds of representational and ideological stasis. In contrast, if the exhibit were to display the film in its entirety, the constructed narrative of the film and its intertitle mediation would be more apparent and the viewer would be more likely to identify the footage (even just in passing) as part of a longer dramatic story rather than an authentic and unmediated document of a native ceremony. By implementing such changes, perhaps the ideological stasis that accompanies the ongoing recirculation of Curtis' photographs and film might be broken by initiating new ways of seeing and debating his work of phantasmatic reconstruction.

Rather than attempting to shore up the permanence and priority of museum display, my critique of the Royal British Columbia Museum is intended to strategically analyze and negotiate one significant nodal point within the hegemonic discursive formation that contours representations of First Peoples in North American society. My critique and suggestions for change have been motivated by the sobering fact that, for right now at least, the First Peoples Gallery at the RBCM isn't slated for dismantling or radical overhauling. As a result, I have adopted a pragmatic and tactical approach to theorizing viable changes within the constraints of the neocolonial network of major museums in Canada. As well, by examining the RBCM as a pivotal site for the recirculation of Curtis' photographic and filmic texts, I have sought to underscore the insidious ways that the stasis effects of salvage ethnography may be perpetuated through new forms of staging and display in our so-called postcolonial present tense. While the museum is a powerful space of voracious ethnographic consumption, it is linked to a broader network of dominant institutions that perpetuate the fantasy of reconstructing "lost" native origins. Implicated in this system are the university and not only the particular disciplines of anthropology or art history, but also the work of cultural studies practitioners such as myself. Any scholarship that seeks to analyze the salvage ethnography of Edward Curtis also engages in its re-narrativization and, in so doing, runs the risk of reinvoking the fetish of the "lost" native other so crucial to discourses of anthropological rescue. A case study of the institutional reincarnations of Edward Curtis' images therefore underscores how curators and academics alike need to continually reassess the ways their own work might keep salvage ethnography's plunder still in circulation.

Figure 16: *The Vanishing Race - Navaho* (1904). Reproduced with the permission of Manuscripts, Special Collections, University Archives, University of Washington Libraries, UW 17739.

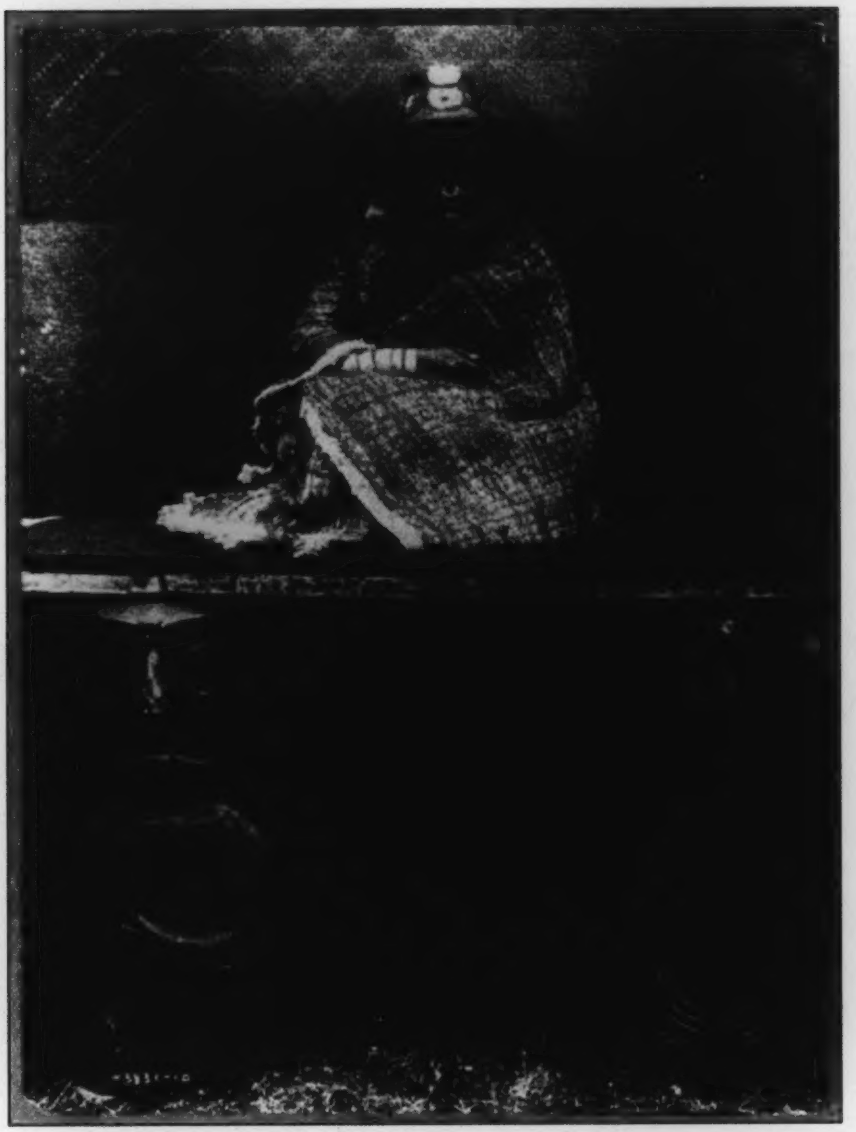


Figure 17: *A Nakoaktok Chief's Daughter* (1910). Reproduced with the permission of the United States Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-59010.

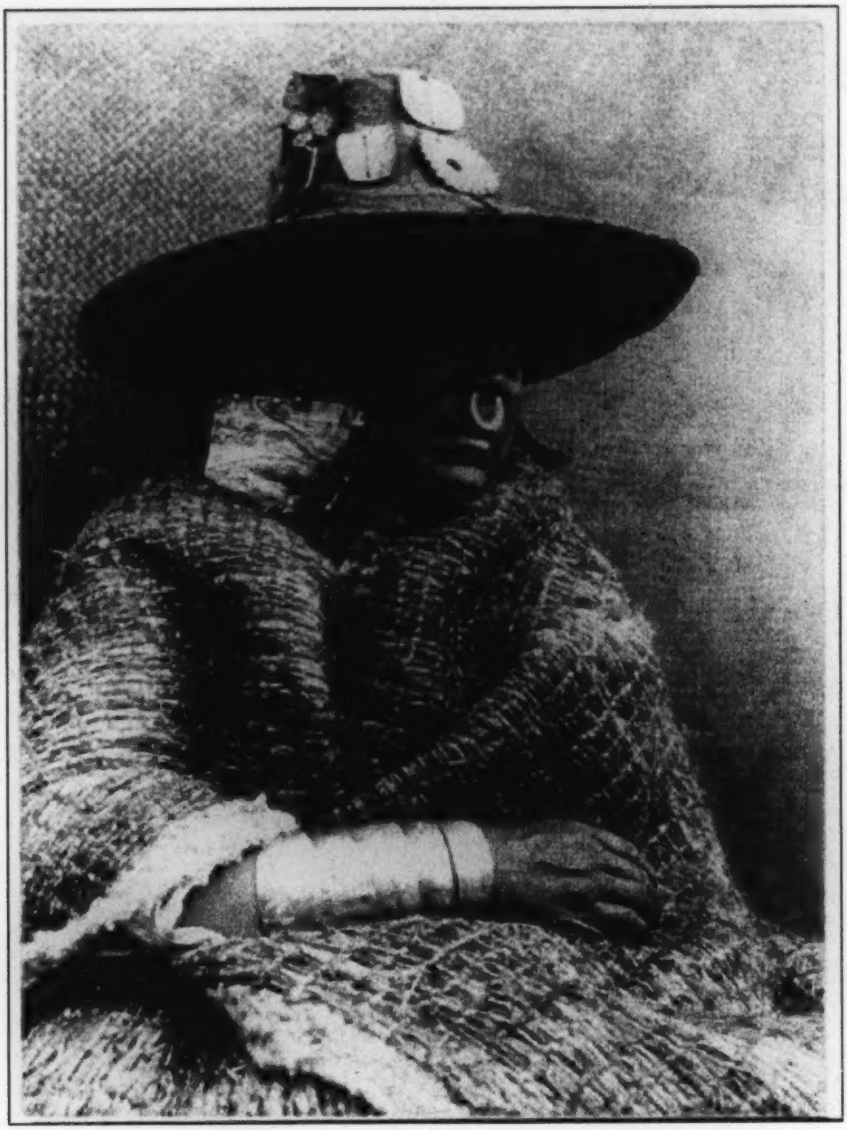


Figure 18: *A Chief's Daughter – Nakoaktok* (1914). The following is a close-up version of Francine Hunt posing as the Chief's daughter. Reproduced with the permission of the United States Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-51432.

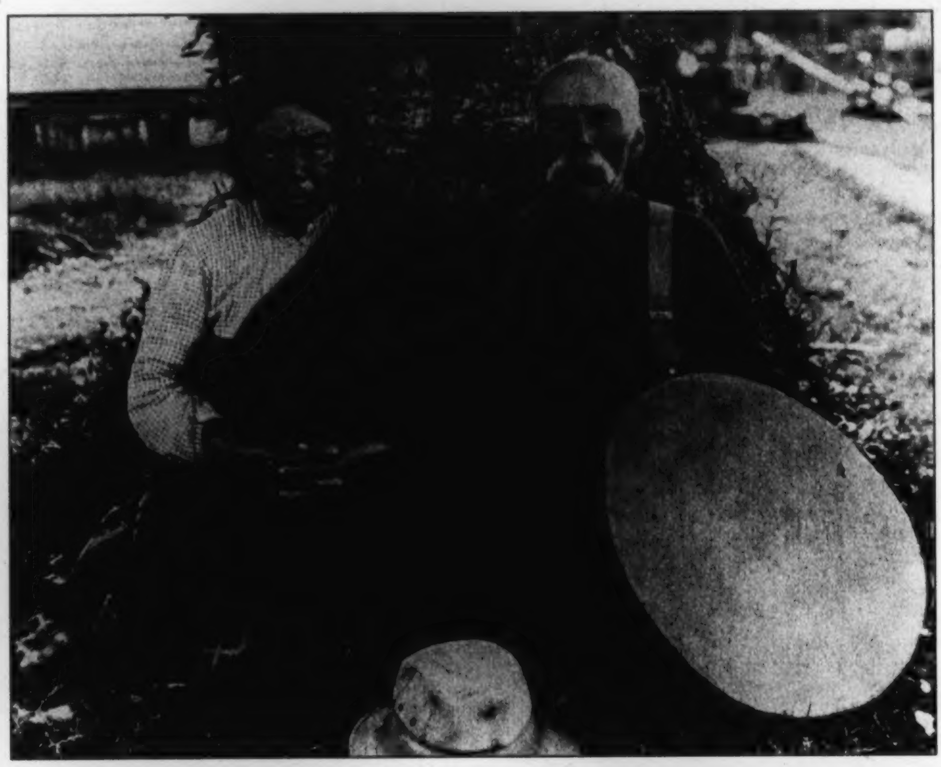


Figure 19: A portrait of George and Francine Hunt in "Western" dress taken by J.B. Scott in 1930. Reproduced with the permission of the Royal British Columbia Museum, PN 9533.

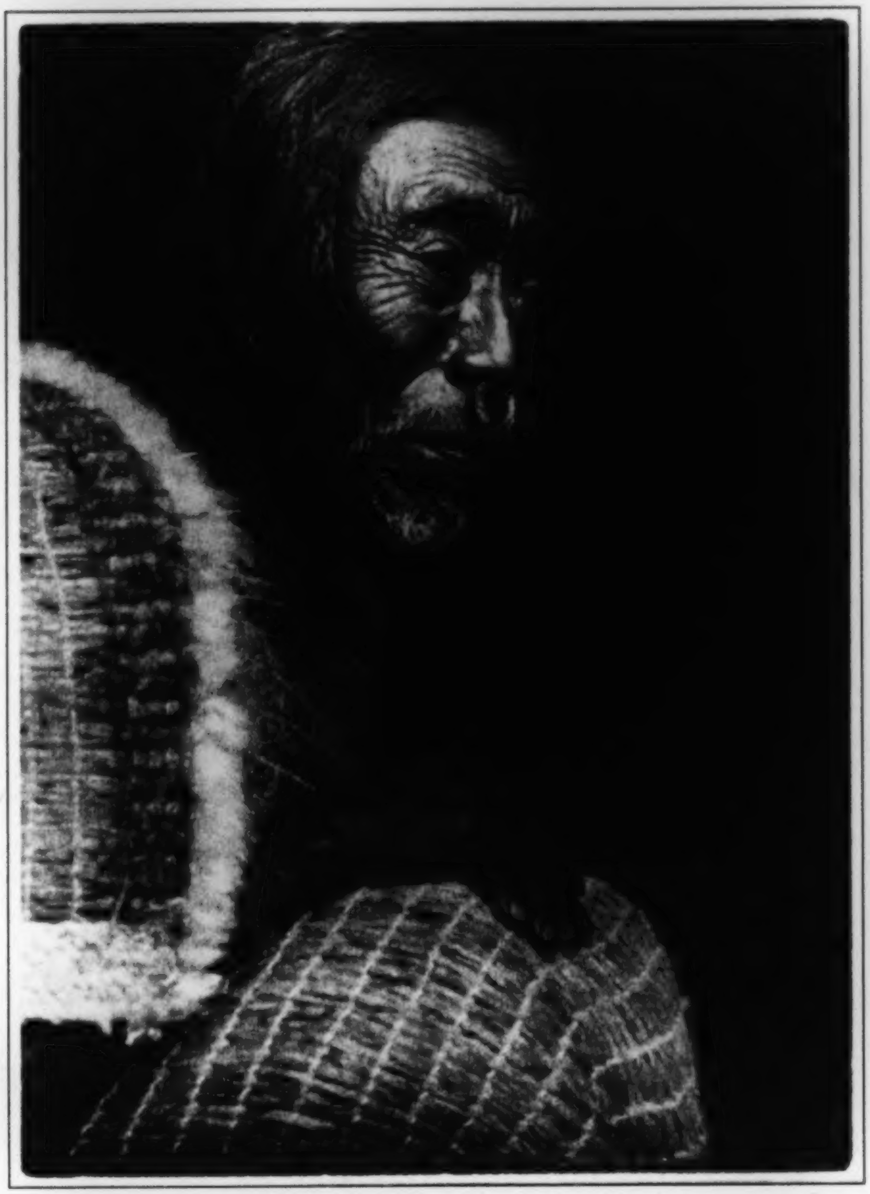


Figure 20: *Yakotlus – Quatsino* (1914). Reproduced with the permission of the United States Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-52197.

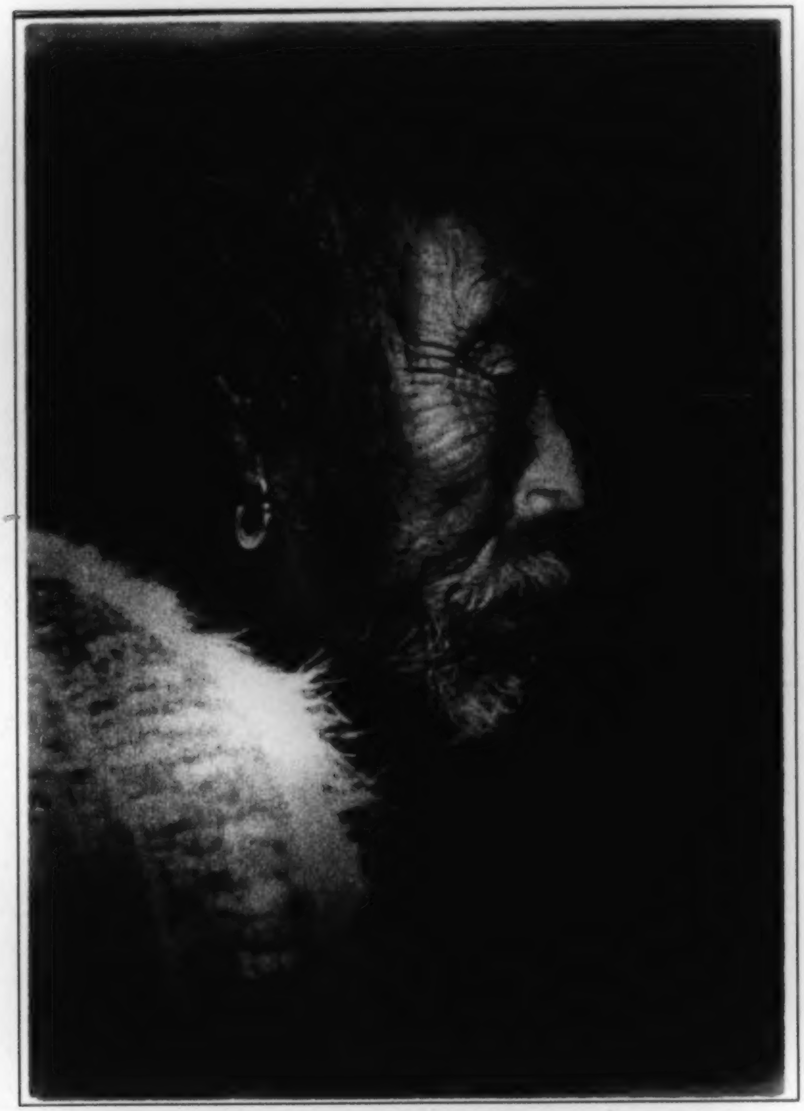


Figure 21: *Yakotlus – Quatsino (Profile)* (1914). Reproduced with the permission of the United States Library of Congress, LC-USZ52-52198.

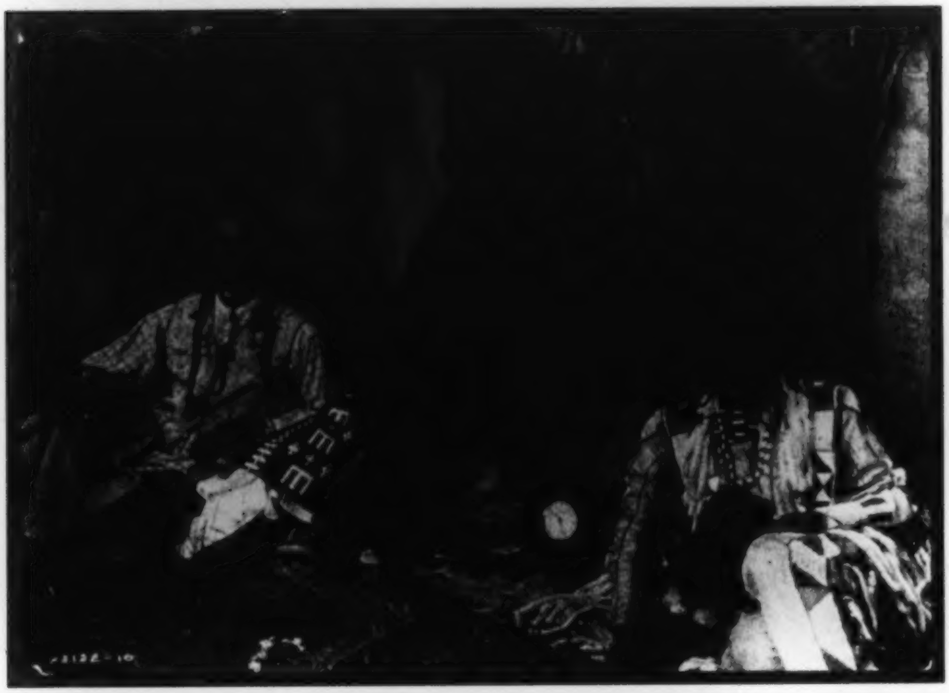


Figure 22: *In a Piegan Lodge* (1910). This is the original version of the photograph in which the clock positioned between the two men is visible. Reproduced with the permission of the United States Library of Congress, LC-USZ62-51432.

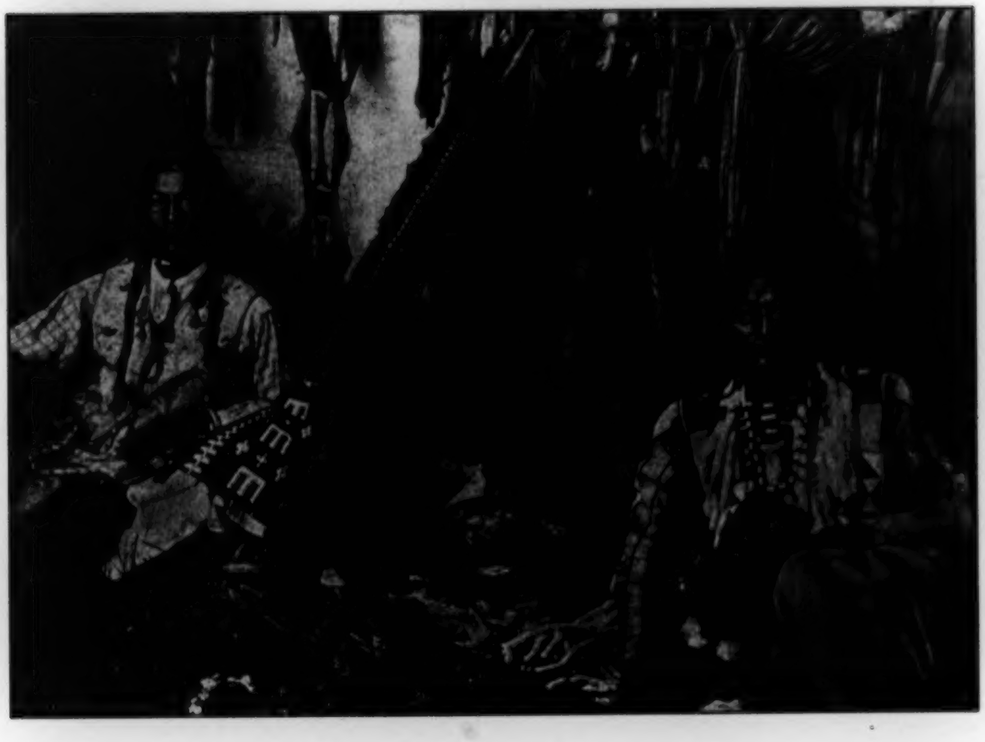


Figure 23: *In a Piegan Lodge* (1910). This is the re-touched version of the photograph in which a basket has been superimposed upon a clock. Reproduced with the permission of Manuscripts, Special Collections, University Archives, University of Washington Libraries, UW 14536.

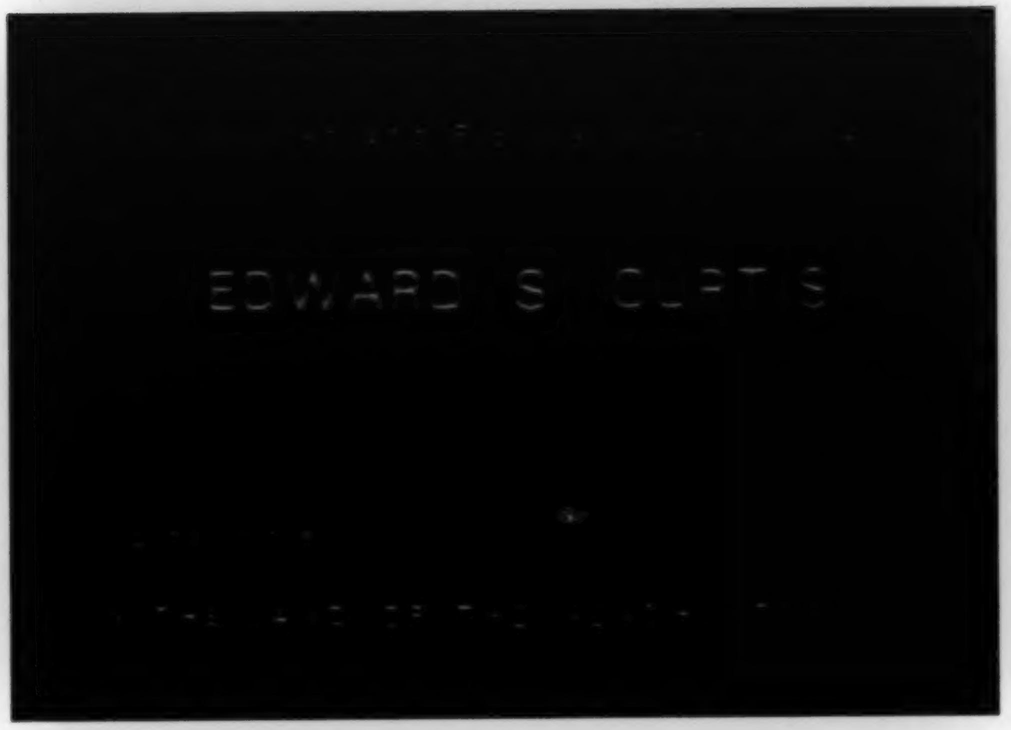
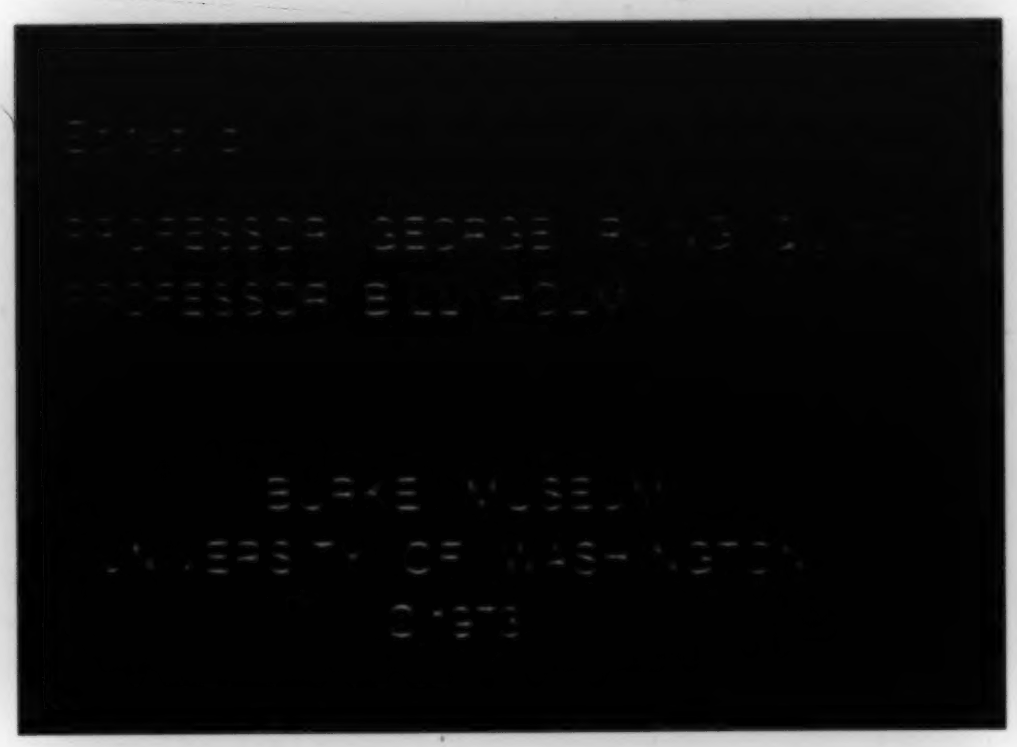


Figure 24: A still image produced from the introductory intertitles in Holm and Quimby's 1973 reconstruction, *In the Land of the War Canoes*. Reproduced with the permission of the University of Washington Press.



[illegible]

PROFESSOR GEORGE QUIMBY

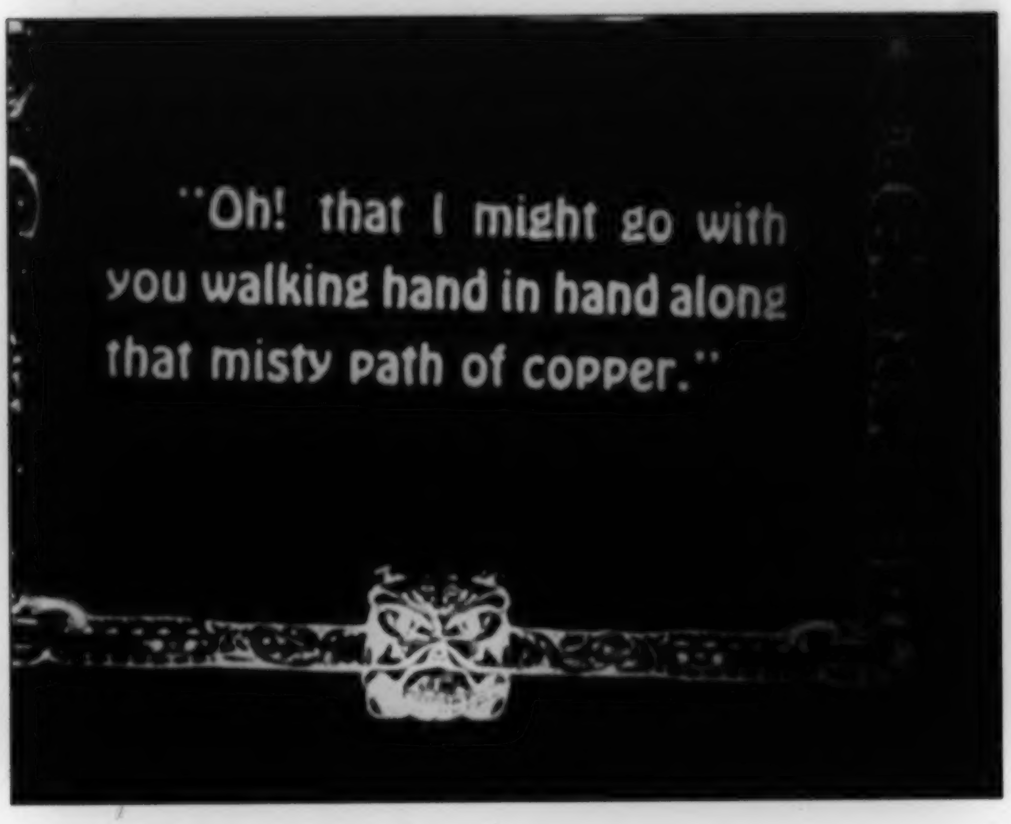
PROFESSOR BILL HOLM

BURKE MUSEUM

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

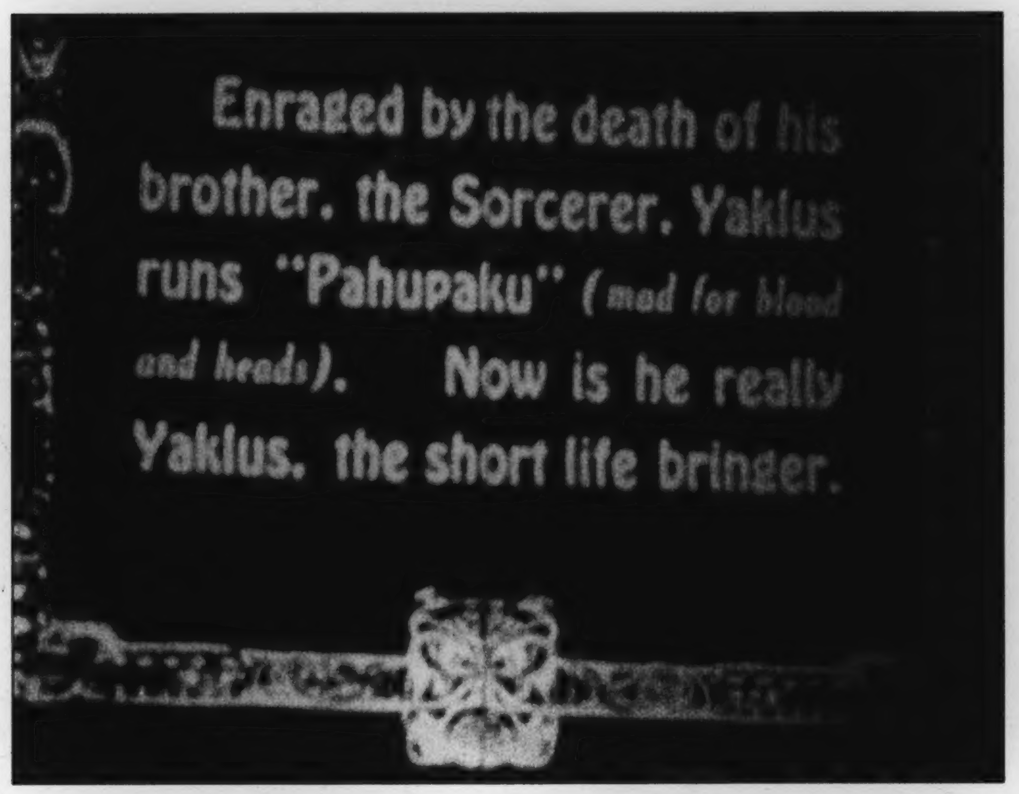
©1973

Figure 25: Another still image produced from the introductory intertitles of the 1973 reconstruction. Reproduced with the permission of the University of Washington Press.



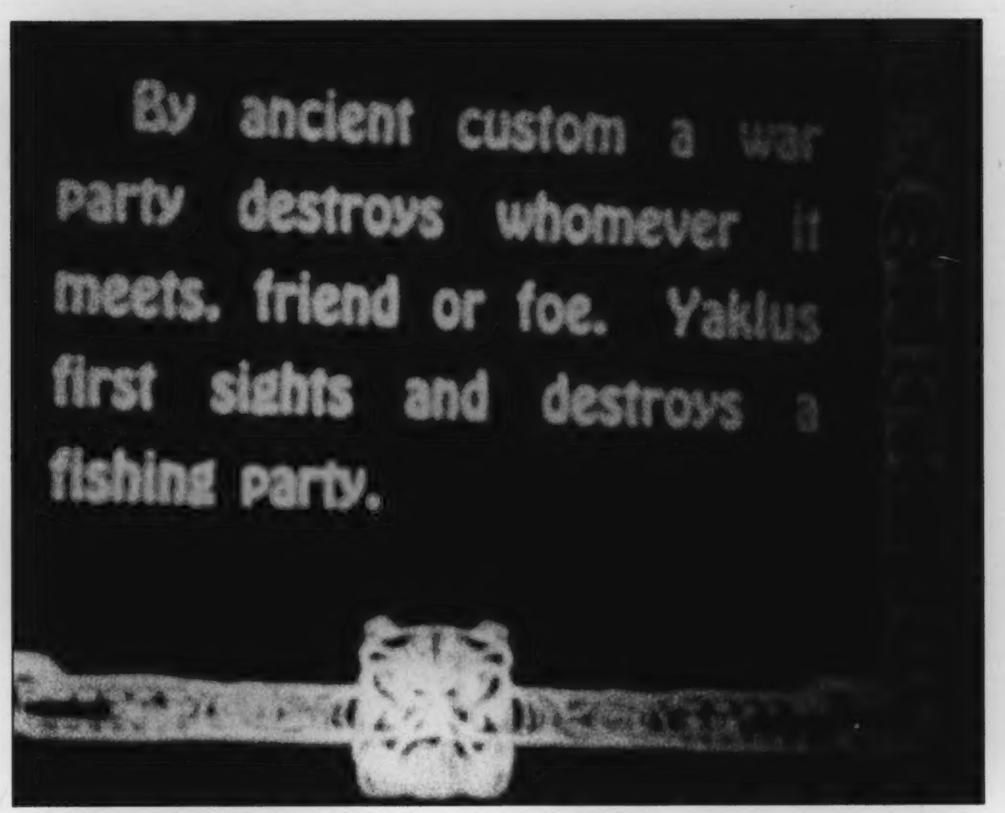
"Oh! that I might go with you walking hand in hand along that misty path of copper."

Figure 26: A digital photograph of an intertitle from the Burke Museum's surviving footage of the 1914 film *In the Land of the Headhunters*, directed by Edward Curtis. The ornamental frame surrounding the dialogue is typical of the decoration that adorns each intertitle throughout the 1914 film. The photograph was taken by Pauline Wakeham during a screening of the Burke's archival footage. Reproduced courtesy of the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture.



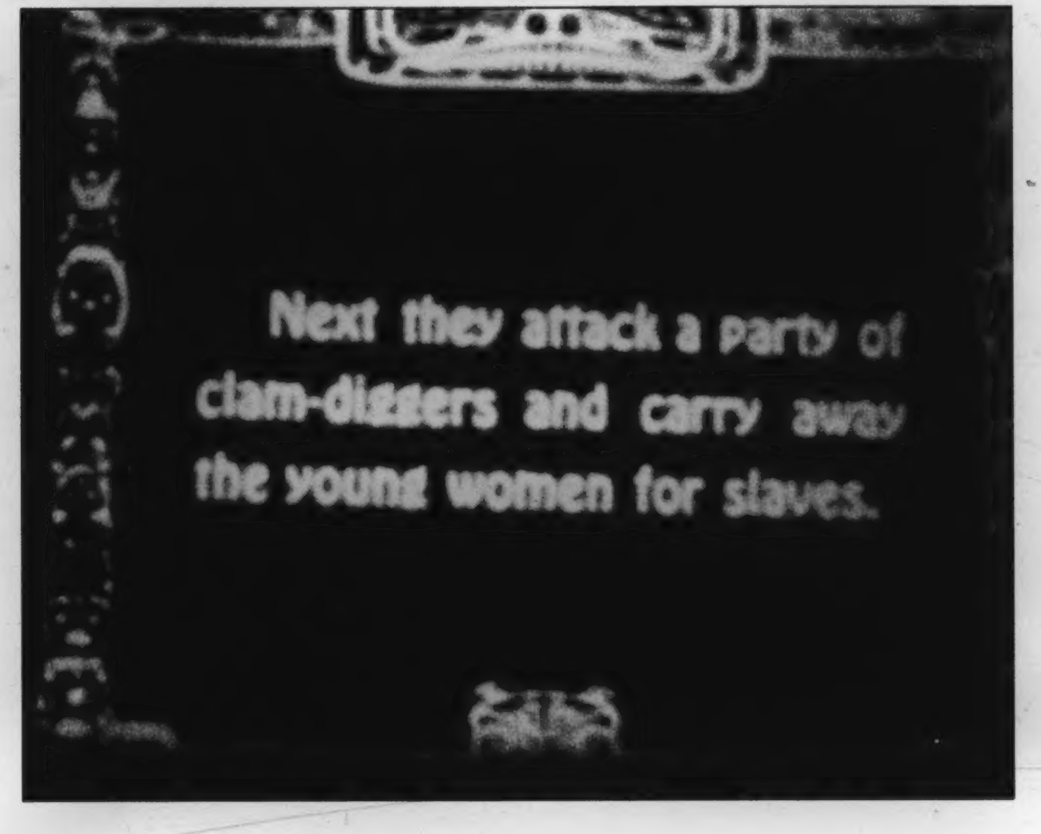
Enraged by the death of his brother, the Sorcerer, Yaklus runs "Pahupaku" (*mad for blood and heads*). Now is he really Yaklus, the short life bringer.

Figure 27: The first intertitle in the film sequence depicting Yaklus' quest for revenge. Figures 27 through 31 are digital photographs produced from the Burke Museum's surviving footage of the 1914 film *In the Land of the Headhunters* directed by Edward Curtis. These photographs show the five intertitles which, interspersed throughout the narrative action of the image-track, describe Yaklus' rampage. These photographs were taken by Pauline Wakeham during a screening of the Burke's archival footage. Reproduced courtesy of the Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture.



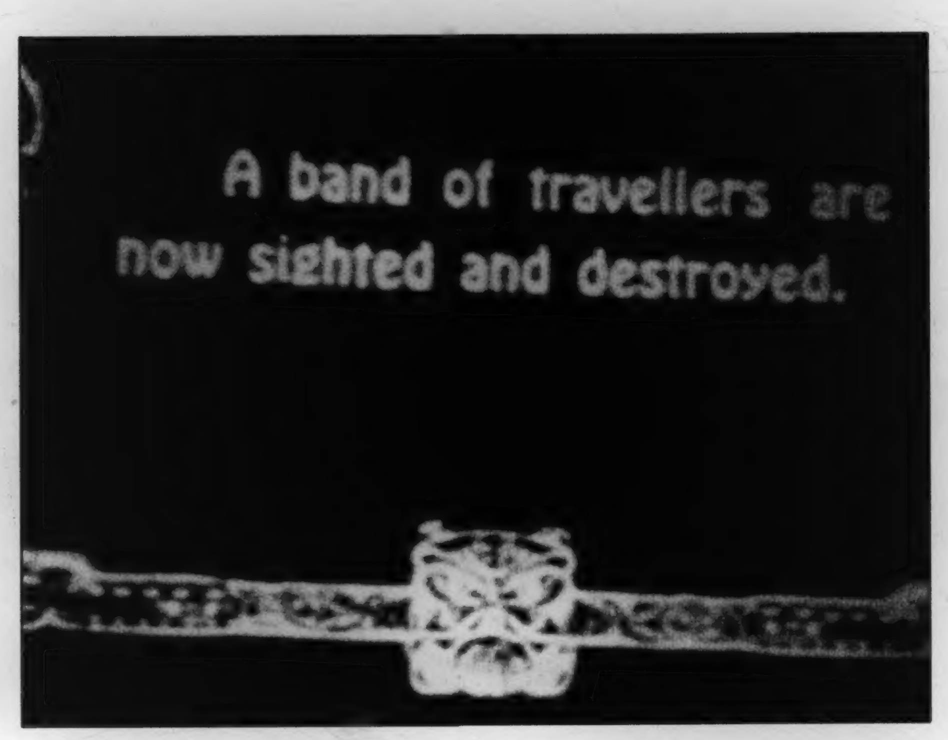
By ancient custom a war party destroys whomever it meets, friend or foe. Yaklus first sights and destroys a fishing party.

Figure 28: The next intertitle in the series.



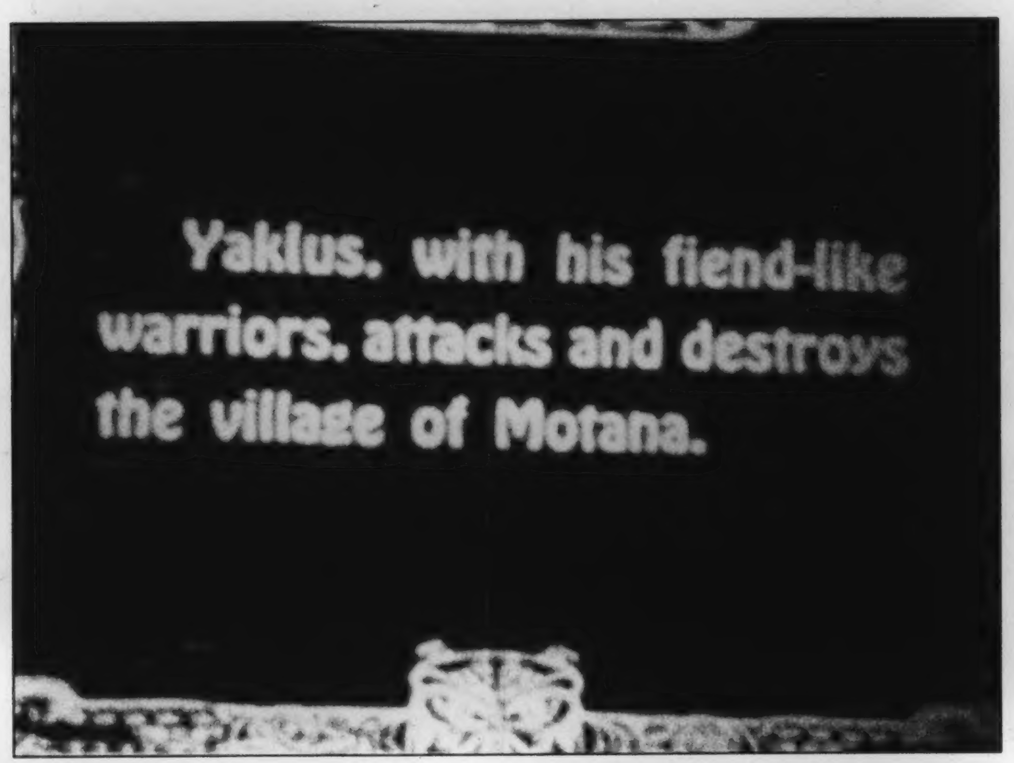
Next they attack a party of clam-diggers and carry away the young women for slaves.

Figure 29: The next intertitle in the series.



A band of travellers are now sighted and destroyed.

Figure 30: The subsequent intertitle in the sequence.



Yaklus, with his fiend-like warriors, attacks and destroys the village of Motana.

Figure 31: The final intertitle in the narrative sequence detailing Yaklus' quest for revenge.

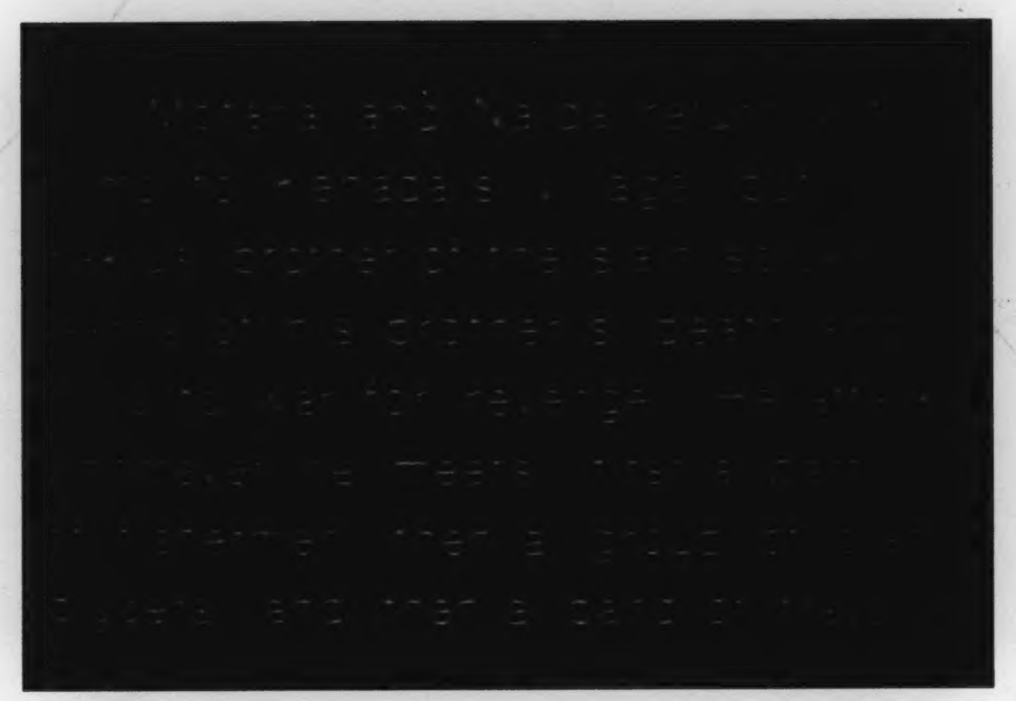


Figure 32: A still image produced from Holm and Quimby's *In the Land of the War Canoes*. This new intertitle condenses the narrative information of the five original intertitles shown in Figures 27 through 31. Here, the dramatic difference in intertitle styling and sequencing between the 1914 film and the 1973 reconstruction is apparent. Reproduced with the permission of the University of Washington Press.

Figure 33: A photograph of the First Peoples Gallery at the Royal British Columbia Museum. This picture shows the television screen that plays a repeating clip from *In the Land of the War Canoes* within the installation. Reproduced with the permission of the Royal British Columbia Museum, PN13315-8a.

Chapter Three

Salvaging Sound at Last Sight: Marius Barbeau and the Anthropological 'Rescue' of *Nass River Indians*[1]

While the previous chapter investigated the relation between photography and film in the salvaging corpus of Edward Curtis, this chapter extends and complicates analysis of early twentieth-century culture-collecting by adding yet another so-called technology of preservation to the mix: phonography. Combining his research interests as a folklorist and ethnologist, C. Marius Barbeau, an employee of the National Museum of Canada, produced an ethnographic documentary in 1927 that filmically depicted the phonographic recording of Nisga'a songs throughout the Nass River region in British Columbia. Like Curtis' *Headhunters*, Barbeau's documentary, entitled *Nass River Indians*, was a silent film intermittently punctuated by written intertitles. Despite these technical limitations, however, Barbeau's documentary undertook to represent the recording of auditory archives, to depict what might be termed the "phono-graphics" of preserving the sounds of an ostensibly vanishing race. In this sense, *Nass River Indians* offers an important point of entry for analyzing the relation between film and phonography as salvaging technologies. Moreover, Barbeau's documentary prompts consideration of the ways that silent film may paradoxically be contoured by unexpected auditory dimensions. Such considerations, I contend, are crucial for considering how early ethnographic cinema—as a technology aiming to preserve remnants of fading native cultures—may inscribe the semiotics of taxidermy via recourse to both visual and auditory codes. Because of its phonographic dimension, therefore, *Nass River Indians* serves as a compelling case study for investigating how the inter-implicated dynamics of sight and sound might contribute to the taxidermic spectacularization of the native other.

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[1] A version of this chapter has been accepted for publication in the journal *English Studies in Canada*.

Over the last several decades, postcolonial critiques of anthropology as an academic discipline have in turn led to analyses of the problematic genre of ethnographic cinema. Study of anthropology's textual production of phonographic records of aboriginal folklore and folksongs during the early twentieth-century, however, has received less focus, despite the fact that many fieldworkers, including Edward Curtis, Franz Boas, and Marius Barbeau, used this audio apparatus extensively in their culture-collecting pursuits.[2] Although critical scholarship has tended to focus upon filmic rather than phonographic salvaging, ethnographic cinema itself has been fascinated with the scene of the native's supposedly awe-struck encounter with sound technology. To contextualize the history of ethnographic cinema's own fascination with phonography and to demonstrate its continued salience in our current era, I want to begin my investigation of *Nass River Indians* with what will seem like a counterintuitive point of entry: a brief discussion of a film from an entirely different genre, that of Disney animation. In so doing, I seek to re-deploy Benjamin's strategy of constellation—in this case, the articulation of a moment from ethnography's past with a moment from popular culture's present—in order to produce a shock of recognition regarding the dangerous recirculation of colonialist and racist ideology today.

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[2] For a detailed discussion of the use of the phonograph in anthropological fieldwork, see Erika Brady's *A Spiral Way: How the Phonograph Changed Ethnography*. Brady discusses the use of the phonograph by a variety of fieldworkers in the late 1800s and early 1900s, including Jesse Walter Fewkes, Frank Hamilton Cushing, and Franz Boas. As well, Brady discusses the United States Library of Congress collection of wax cylinder folklore recordings and the Federal Cylinder Project initiated to preserve these documents. Charles Briggs and Richard Bauman also briefly discuss Boas' use of the phonograph in his fieldwork (485).

Alien Encounters

In 2002, the "magic" of Walt Disney animation brought the story of a genetically-engineered alien to life on the big screen. Tracing the mishaps of an extra-terrestrial on the run from authorities of the Galactic Federation, Disney narrates the alien's escape to the island of Hawai'i on planet Earth. Disguising himself as a domestic pet, alien "Stitch" is adopted by an indigenous orphan named Lilo who extends compassion to the peculiar "canine" due to her own experiences of marginalization. Starting from this premise, Disney's motion picture *Lilo and Stitch* constructs a narrative about the socialization of an alien and his re-making as a docile subject. Giving explicit voice to this imperative, a no-nonsense social worker commands Lilo to train her unruly pet to become a "model citizen." Lilo, obsessed with Elvis Presley, in turn decides that the prototype for model behaviour is "the King" himself. Although the film depicts a variety of activities whereby Stitch is instructed in the art of Elvis mimicry, one scene in particular represents alien encounter with Western culture in ways that are telling for the issues at stake in this chapter. Introducing Stitch to the music of Presley, Lilo trucks out her vinyl collection of "the King's" hits. Instead of turning on her classic-style phonograph and enticing Stitch to sing along, however, Lilo initiates her alien trainee in a much more complex way. Resting the album on the phonograph's turntable, Lilo directs Stitch's claw onto the record to act as a needle. The record starts spinning, but sound remains absent until Lilo opens Stitch's mouth, which morphs into a phonographic bullhorn that blasts out "Suspicious Minds" in mid-chorus.

By staging a scene of alien contact with phonographic technology, Disney's postmodern motion picture strangely echoes a recurring motif in twentieth-century ethnographic cinema. In his book *Mimesis and Alterity: A Particular History of the Senses*, Michael Taussig identifies the "phonographic *mise en scène*" as a kind of primal scene in ethnographic film that repeatedly stages the "native's" awe-struck encounter with "the phonograph in action on the colonial frontier" (199). Malleable in its reiterations, the phonographic *mise en scène* sometimes depicts the primitive other's fascination with the technological broadcasting of Western music; in other instances, however, the phonograph elicits wonder via the mimetic capture and preservation of the native's voice. Analyzing this primal scene in relation to the status of Western machines in the anthropological imagination, Taussig argues that when film and photography are represented in ethnographic accounts, they are framed as "technology"—"as something antithetical to magic" (198). In contrast, "when it comes to filming the phonograph [...], then everything changes. Here every effort is made to represent mimeticizing technology as magical" (199). As a result, Taussig remarks: "the question must be [asked...]—because the phonographic *mise en scène* is surprisingly common in twentieth-century descriptions of "primitive" peoples—as to why Westerners are so fascinated by Others' fascination with this apparatus" (199). The hypothesis that Taussig develops in response hinges upon his theory of "mimetically capacious" technologies—a theory that seeks to destabilize the rigid colonialist binary dividing Western technology and primitive magic (*xiv*). In this context, Taussig argues that the phonographic *mise en scène* frames the native other as a fascinated foil in order to "reinstall the mimetic faculty as mystery in the art of mechanical reproduction" (207). According to Taussig, however, the insistent repetition of the scene of native wonder regarding a technology-taken-for-magic effectively belies the West's own investments in—and its closeted fetishization of—phonography and its mimetic power to reproduce the human voice.

Disney's 2002 re-staging of an alien encounter with phonographic technology attests to the powerful currency of this primal scene within the Western cultural unconscious. At the same time, however, this animated film sets in motion a chain of substitutions that further complicate the codings at stake in the phonographic *mise en scène*. Rather than depicting the patriarchal white ethnographer, Disney substitutes a native Hawaiian girl in his place. While Disney's fraught multicultural logic attempts to portray Lilo's cultural specificity, the film also, at times, presents the female protagonist as the embodiment of successful global assimilation to Western values.[3] In this context, during the re-staging of the phonographic *mise en scène*, Lilo operates as the assimilated native, the ambassador of Western culture. By re-occupying the position of the Western ethnographer with an indigenous, female child, the power asymmetries encoded in anthropology's primal scene are conveniently dissimulated. If Lilo is technology's emissary, in turn, the figure of the other must be displaced from an aboriginal to an extra-terrestrial who has not yet been indoctrinated into planet Earth's eurocentric consciousness. Thus, while Disney's re-staging of the phonographic *mise en scène* puts a range of artistic liberties in play, it still maintains the crucial structural element of anthropology's classic narrative of technological contact—namely, the display of Western technopowers by a faithful ambassador to a supposedly ignorant other in need of cultural education. Moreover, I want to suggest that it is precisely the artistic liberties at stake in Disney's rendition that exaggerate the dynamics of alienation and assimilation operative in the phonographic *mise en scène*, consequently effecting an important defamiliarizing function.

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[3] My thanks to Heather Zwicker for prompting me to consider the ways that *Lilo and Stitch* attempts to encode cultural specificity at times. Zwicker reads Lilo's position as an orphan who is under the control of a surveilling social worker as an allegory for colonial control over Native Hawaiians, framed as wards of the state. In this context, the film's narrative of Lilo and her sister's resistance to the social worker and their assertion of independence potentially functions as a form of resistance to colonial control. Although it falls beyond the scope of this chapter to investigate in detail, I want to note that the film's tensions between cultural specificity and cultural caricature, between difference and assimilation, are complex.

Disney's over-the-top cartoonic depiction accentuates the fraught power dynamics encoded in this technological encounter, thereby constituting an important point of departure for analyzing its pivotal ideological stakes. *Lilo and Stitch* throws into relief a crucial representational problematic operative in this repeating filmic scenario: namely, the complex relation between technology and the body of the other. In this context, Disney's digitally-animated re-staging underscores—and translates into comically literalized terms—how the phonographic *mise en scène* hinges upon the machinic incorporation of an alien or othered body. Framed via the lens of slapstick humour, Stitch's encounter with the phonograph results in the co-optation of his body by Western technology, including the repossession of his claw and mouth as phonographic replacement parts. In the process, the film demonstrates how an unruly alien is reproduced as a "model citizen" through his technological incorporation as a conduit for the voice of Elvis—a hero of white Western commodity culture.

A second and yet integrally related representational tangle foregrounded by Disney's reanimation of the phonographic *mise en scène* concerns the technological mediation of "the phonograph in action" (Taussig 199) via the filmic apparatus. While Taussig's analysis of "mimetically capacious" technologies is theoretically suggestive, his inquiry overlooks a crucial representational conundrum that complicates several early renditions of the phonographic *mise en scène*. Specifically, Taussig does not investigate the fact that certain ethnographic texts he studies in terms of the mimetic reproduction of sound are actually *silent* films.[4] In response, I argue that it is imperative to investigate what is at stake in deploying silent visual technology to represent a mimetic process that supposedly hinges upon audibility. Here, *Lilo and Stitch* offers an important point of contrast: via the "magic" of animation choreographed to a popular musical soundtrack, Disney's motion picture turns the sound back on for the phonographic *mise en scène*. In the process, the film makes explicit whose voice is mimetically reproduced in the moment of technological encounter—namely, the voice of dominant Western culture (in this case, Elvis), not the voice of the alien other. Although the scene in *Lilo and Stitch* uses phonography to broadcast Western music, I want to suggest that even when the phonographic *mise en scène* appears to be about the opposite—namely, the mimetic capture of native voices—the hegemonic assertion of white supremacy is still what gets spoken.

In order to demonstrate how the phonographic *mise en scène* works in a variety of complex ways to make the doctrine of Western dominance resound in ethnographic cinema, I want to connect the two representational problematics brought to the fore by

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[4] The major text that Taussig reads in this section of *Mimesis and Alterity* is Robert Flaherty's 1922 narrative documentary *Nanook of the North*. In this film, Flaherty stages the encounter between Nanook the Eskimo and the phonograph on the colonial frontier. At a fur trader's store, Nanook is introduced to the musical sounds of Western civilization. His response to this technological wonder is to pick up the record and attempt to eat it. In this way, Flaherty uses the Eskimo to stage the "primitive's" simple consumption of sound technology in contrast to Western culture's sophisticated mode of aural, rather than oral, phonographic consumption. In his analysis of *Nanook of the North*, Taussig refers to the phonographic *mise en scène* as "[m]imetic sensuosity incarnate!" (200) and, yet, the phonograph's mimetic reproduction of sound remains conspicuously inaudible throughout the film. Moreover, in Bob Connolly and Robin Anderson's 1983 film *First Contact*—a film reconstructed from footage taken by Australian Michael Leahy in the 1930s—the phonographic *mise en scène* is reiterated against the backdrop of a "primitive" culture living in Papua New Guinea. While the original footage was recorded on silent film, Connolly and Anderson re-stage the phonographic *mise en scène* with a new soundtrack that creates a "dazzling incongruity-effect" by playing a Western popular tune, "Looking on the Bright Side of Life," while the fascinated natives gawk at Western technology (Taussig 207). This disjuncture between the 1983 soundtrack and the imagined music constructed by the silent footage further demonstrates the representational complexities of deploying silent film to record the mimetic reproduction of sound.

Disney's postmodern production and then link them to a theory of ventriloquy. To do so, I want to first argue that the semiotics of machinic incorporation encoded in the phonographic *mise en scène* have everything to do with the scenario's filmic transmission of the voice of Western hegemony. In *Lilo and Stitch*, the technological co-optation of Stitch's body effectively reduces the extra-terrestrial to an automated puppet who acts as a conduit for throwing his master's (a.k.a "the King's") voice. In other words, Stitch becomes an automaton that channels the ghost in anthropology's "magical" machine. Although Disney's production is significantly different from twentieth-century ethnographic cinema, I want to suggest that the phonographic *mise en scène*, as typified in *Lilo and Stitch*, may enact processes of ventriloquy that have insidious ideological implications. In this context, I use the term "ventriloquy" to signal an overarching rubric that articulates a constellation of distinct but inter-related representational practices through which the master narrative of white supremacy is spoken. While the phonographic *mise en scène* in early ethnographic film is sometimes staged in "silence"—without soundtrack—this scenario may still effectively transmit the voice of white supremacy by strategically re-framing the native other as a figure of ventriloquy co-opted by the technologies of Western progress. Extending this concept further, I contend that even when ethnographic cinema frames the phonographic *mise en scène* as a moment of heroic preservation—of recording native voices—it may simultaneously ventriloquize its colonial other as a figure who appears to speak but is insidiously dubbed over by the voice of Western hegemony. By re-examining the processes of ventriloquization at work in the phonographic *mise en scène*, therefore, I seek to critique the multiple ways this moment of technological encounter articulates racist and colonialist ideology.

To develop my argument further, I want to re-direct the problematics raised in my reading of *Lilo and Stitch* toward a more detailed analysis of Barbeau's 1928 ethnographic documentary, which foregrounds the use of audio technology in fieldwork. Restored to a second life in 2001 via the work of institutional reconstruction, *Nass River Indians* re-emerges at our current historical juncture to prompt politically salient questions about the ideological workings of ethnographic cinema and its depictions of Western technology "in action on the colonial frontier" (Taussig 199). A preliminary comparison of *Lilo and Stitch* and *Nass River Indians* underscores the diverse ways in which the phonographic *mise en scène* may deploy representational strategies of ventriloquy. While *Lilo and Stitch* depicts the training of an alien to mimic the sounds of Western culture, *Nass River Indians* portrays the instruction of "fascinated natives" to sing their own "tribal" songs into the phonograph for the purposes of anthropological recording. At first glance, one might be tempted to dismiss the compelling connections between these two films, arguing that it is the natives (not Elvis, not Western hegemony) who are shown to speak in Barbeau's documentary. Throughout this chapter, however, I will argue that what the natives speak through the phonograph in *Nass River Indians* comes to signify as the narrative of white supremacy. The reason, I will contend, is that Barbeau's documentary—albeit in a different and perhaps more subtle way than Disney's animated production—also deploys strategies of ventriloquy. As a result, Barbeau's filmic reiteration of the phonographic *mise en scène* on a silent celluloid archive enables the ethnographer himself to speak—without seeming to speak—and, thus, to encode an anthropological interpretation that overwrites the words of "Indians" with the dominant discourse of Western progress. Before Barbeau's re-staging of the phonographic *mise en scène* may be rigorously interrogated in light of his film's broader political stakes, however, this chapter will first examine the ideological, institutional, and social force-fields that shaped *Nass River Indians*.

Of Ghosts and Machines

A politicized reading of Barbeau's 1928 documentary necessitates a careful consideration of the particular historical and disciplinary locations in which the film was produced. In this vein, I want to first briefly outline the driving concept of the film alongside of the disciplinary ideology that contours it. Filmed on the tail-end of the "anthropological scramble for [native] artifacts" in the Canadian northwest (Cole 1), *Nass River Indians* stages the historical scene of culture-collecting on a receding frontier. Casting National Museum ethnologist Marius Barbeau as hero, the film self-consciously foregrounds and yet also romanticizes fieldwork in the Nisga'a territory of British Columbia.[5] Depicting the Nass River Valley as a region ostensibly perched on the disintegrating edges of wildness, Barbeau's film inculcates a strategic pathos surrounding the decline of native culture in the wake of Western progress. In this context, the film aestheticizes the already-euphemistic concept of culture-collecting via recourse to the insidious logic of salvage ethnography.

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[5] Barbeau's role in the production of this documentary is multi-layered. While Barbeau stars as the film's principal hero, he also wrote the intertitles and functioned as its producer in conjunction with Associated Screen News and the National Museum of Canada (Jessup "J.S. Watson" 117, Jessup "Moving Pictures" 4). Barbeau, however, did not film the footage himself; rather, the camera was operated by American filmmaker James Sibley Watson. As a result, the credits for the original film state: "Photographed by Dr. J.S. Watson in collaboration with C.M. Barbeau." Written works by Barbeau reiterate key scenes in the film and proprietorially suggest that *Nass River Indians* is a product of Barbeau's own conceptualization. In particular, the supposedly comedic story of the Christian conversion of Eagle Chief "Old Geetiks" featured in *Nass River Indians* is re-told by Barbeau throughout his corpus. Reiteration of this tale may be found in Barbeau's essay "The Thunderbird of the Mountains" (103) as well as in his printed translation of *Three Songs of the West Coast* (Barbeau and MacMillan 9-14).

In his dissertation *Tradition and Modernity: The Cultural Work of Marius Barbeau*, Andrew Nurse argues that the rise of modern anthropology in Canada was predominantly structured according to the salvage paradigm. Much like Edward Curtis, Barbeau believed that authentic native cultures "had once existed in a sort of timeless and holistic prehistoric state" but, with the westward movement of colonial civilization, their state of nature was destined to crumble under the weight of modernity (Nurse "But Now Things Have Changed" 444). Reiterating this melancholy narrative in his book *Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies*, Barbeau laments: "It is clear that the Indian, with his inability to preserve his own culture or to assimilate ours, is bound to disappear as a race [....] His passing is one of the great tragedies of the American continent" (7). From Barbeau's ambivalent colonialist perspective, the "passing" of "the Indian" was a *necessary* tragedy, justified by the supposedly inevitable progress of Western culture and its burden to civilize North America. The vanishing Indian, therefore, was a figure of colonial *poesis* for Barbeau—a tragic figure around whom an aestheticized narrative of extinction was writ large as a "picturesque chapter" of New World beginnings soon to be closed forever (Barbeau "Our Indians").[6] Reaching the same volatile conclusion as Curtis and other anthropologists of the era, Barbeau believed that the supposedly proper—as well as urgent and heroic—anthropological response was to textually record the continent's pre-history—consolidated in the remnants of native tradition—before it decayed and disappeared.

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[6] In his 1931 essay "Our Indians—Their Disappearance," Barbeau argues: "The popular notion about the vanished American races is not very far wrong, and *The Last of the Mohicans* of Fenimore Cooper, as it were, closes a picturesque chapter that cannot be reopened" (695). Underscoring the urgency of his salvaging project, Barbeau continues: "Of the old customs and religion [...] there is hardly left a trace" (699). "At present the indications point convincingly to the extinction of the race" (707).

Through his ardent re-narrativization of the trope of the "vanishing Indian," Barbeau faithfully reproduced and reinforced the dominant ideology upheld by institutionalized anthropology in Canada at the time. Brought to life in 1910 with the establishment of the Anthropology Division of the Geological Survey of Canada, modern anthropology was developed under the aegis of the colonial nation-state (Nurse *Tradition and Modernity* 8). While the Geological Survey itself was originally developed for the purposes of investigating colonial expansion and resource extraction during the 1830s, the state's subsequent initiation of the Anthropology Division furthered the enterprise of colonial nation-building in new ways (Nowry 90). By organizing the study of anthropology under the broader institutional framework of the Geological Survey, the state "solidified a natural history orientation within the discipline" (Morris 45). Such institutional structuring worked to configure anthropological studies toward an "object orientation" that framed native cultures as "analogous to the artifacts unearthed by archaeologists," thereby resulting in their "objectifi[cation] and reifi[cation]" (Morris 45). The articulation of such an institutionalized "object orientation" with salvage ethnography's hegemonic "narrative of disappearance" (Morris 45) effectively justified the development of national museums via the proprietorial collecting and display of native cultures in the shape of "artifacts."[7]

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[7] According to Laurence Nowry, the "National Museums of Canada had their origin in the Geological Survey of Canada," as a result of the logic traced above (90). Geological Survey Director R.W. Brock appointed the first chief of the Anthropology Division, Dr. Edward Sapir, a former student of Franz Boas. At the time of the appointment, Brock asserted: "We want first of all an interesting and instructive display in the Ethnological Hall of the New Museum….to ensure public support. The main objective is of course to establish a thorough and scientific investigation of the native races of Canada, their distribution,

While the general logic of salvage ethnography articulated by Barbeau resonates with the party line of the Geological Survey and, thus, of the Canadian nation-state, *Nass River Indians* complicates the machinations of this colonialist ideology. The complexities initiated by Barbeau's documentary may be elucidated by a brief comparison with Edward Curtis' film. Although the broad salvaging rhetoric of Barbeau's corpus resonates with the guiding assumptions of Edward Curtis' work, the translation of the salvaging project into film production takes significantly different shapes in Barbeau's *Nass River Indians* than it does in Curtis' *In the Land of the Headhunters*. As I argued in the preceding chapter, Curtis' 1914 narrative documentary seeks to travel back in time to the late eighteenth century and, thus, to reconstruct Kwakiutl lifeways in a pre-contact state of native cultural purity. In this sense, *Headhunters* attempts to recover a kind of "tribal" authenticity believed to already be lost by the time of its filming. By deploying film technology to produce a celluloid reconstruction of a pre-contact era, Curtis' documentary exemplifies the dominant representational strategies of early ethnographic cinema in the first several decades of the twentieth century. Barbeau's 1928 documentary, by contrast, rejects these strategies.[8] Rather than returning to a "prehistoric" period of native existence, Barbeau's

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languages, culture, etc., and to collect and preserve records of the same" (qtd. in Nowry 87). In 1911, Barbeau was hired as a temporary staff member in the position of Assistant Ethnologist and later became a permanent fixture (Nowry 89).

[8] Lynda Jessup argues that *Nass River Indians*' filmic portrayal of the fieldworker in action ~~is~~ atypical for the time period. Generally, ethnographic cinema of the early twentieth century sought to reconstruct a pre-contact era and, thus, necessarily excluded the ethnographer from the filmic frame. In this way, "the ethnographic filmmaker was not a participant at all but, like the camera, an invisible observer" (Jessup "Tin Cans" 52). As a result, *Nass River Indians* "predates by 40 years what are generally thought to be the earliest ethnographic films to record the presence of the fieldworker, among them most notably *Margaret Mead's New Guinea Journal* [1968]" (Jessup "Tin Cans" 52). I argue that the foregrounding of both the fieldworker and his technology is integral to *Nass River Indians*' narrative of anthropological salvaging and, particularly, to its strategic representations of the phonograph as a salvaging technology.

documentary stages the project of ethnographic salvaging in his own time—one of cross-cultural contact and contamination. While Barbeau echoes Curtis' lament regarding the supposed loss of traditional native lifeways, his film seeks to portray such a process of loss within the tide of modernity. Rather than attempting to exclude all traces of the ethnographer from the filmic frame, *Nass River Indians* foregrounds the presence of the fieldworker and, thus, seeks to control—but not to erase—the signs of Western cultural influence upon native lifeways in British Columbia.

The contemporary setting of *Nass River Indians* complicates both the trope of aboriginal disappearance and the concomitant discourse of anthropological salvaging inscribed in Barbeau's film. While Curtis' film is able to relegate "the Indian" to a prehistoric, pre-contact past, Barbeau's cinematic staging of the encounter between the imperiled native and the anthropological rescuer must frame the aboriginal other as dying yet alive enough to pass on cultural information for textual preservation. In this context, *Nass River Indians* must sustain a logic of *perpetual vanishing* that constructs the native other as both present and yet spectrally extinct. Moreover, by scripting the ethnographer into the narrative action of the film, Barbeau is also able to script the on-screen presence of modern ethnography's redemptive technologies—namely, the camera and the phonograph. In the process, however, Barbeau's documentary subtextually encodes the way such technologies are mobilized to re-present the native other as a spectral apparition—one that is perpetually doomed to be "lost, in disintegrating time and space, but saved in the text" or as "artifactualized" objects of recorded folklore and songs (Clifford "Ethnographic Allegory" 111). Reinscribing the salvage paradigm on its own terms, then, *Nass River Indians* mourns the loss of the native other while simultaneously celebrating the technological recovery of artifactual remnants as synecdoches of a vanishing race.

The process of technologized salvaging depicted in Barbeau's documentary, however, results in a tacit contest between filmic and phonographic apparati. For instance, although *Nass River Indians* announces itself as a "screen recording of [...] vanishing culture" (*NRI*), the particular preservational technology which is *thematically* foregrounded throughout is the phonograph.[9] The documentary's central narrative thread traces the phonographic salvaging of native "rites and songs" by Marius Barbeau and his sidekick, Dr. Ernest MacMillan of the Royal Conservatory of Music (*NRI*). By recording the phonographic preservation of Nisga'a songs on a silent, celluloid archive, therefore, Barbeau's documentary initiates a complex tension between visual and audio technology. Although it is important to recognize that Barbeau's use of silent film was not so much a choice as a technological limitation of the historical period in which he worked, other questions need to be asked about the ideological implications of a silent documentary that depicts the ethnographic salvaging of sound. Regardless of intentionality, *Nass River Indians*' silent screening of sound recording powerfully encodes a soundless sound which demands careful listening and critical attention, for that is one crucial way that ideology hails its subjects: ideology is the voice that speaks without seeming to speak, the sound that pervades a seeming silence. While Barbeau's documentary transports Western machines to the colonial frontier under the heroic rubric of anthropological rescue, the film's tacit technological contest simultaneously stages the inability of phonography—as mediated by silent film—to effectively capture fading native voices. In so doing, *Nass*

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[9] Throughout my discussion of *Nass River Indians*, I will cite direct quotations from the film's intertitles with the abbreviation "*NRI*" in parentheses.

River Indians performs a strategically double-edged function that effects both the preservation and assimilation (or "recovery" and "loss") of so-called traditional native lifeways. Moreover, Barbeau's repetition of the phonographic *mise en scène* subtextually demonstrates how representations of Western technology employed in salvaging projects encode—via the machinic incorporation and ventriloquization of the native other—a complex discourse of racialization that dooms the "Indians" of the Nass River to extinction. Under the guise of protecting the colonial other for national posterity, therefore, anthropology's salvaging scenario deploys Western machines to imprint the mark of racialization upon native bodies and, in turn, frame them as ghosts.

At this point, I want to link the representational strategies of Barbeau's documentary to what I am theorizing throughout this dissertation as the semiotics of taxidermy. In order to explain this connection, I want to first outline how Barbeau's documentary strategically re-appropriates particular fantasies circulating in the Western cultural imagination that link the phonograph to complex manipulations of the life/death boundary. In his 1878 manifesto "The Phonograph and its Future," Thomas Edison argues that his invention assures the "captivity of all manner of sound-waves heretofore designated as 'fugitive'" as well as "their reproduction [...] at will, without the presence or consent of the original source, and after the lapse of any period of time" (530). These technological capabilities were translated into the popular use of the phonograph for the production of a "family record" that would preserve "the sayings, the voices, and *the last words*" of a dying relative (Edison 533).[10] The phonograph accordingly became conceptualized as a machine capable of the "reanimation of the dead" (Kahn 6): because this mimetic technology could "preserve the speaking [...] evidence of animate life, the dead could indeed continue to speak" through it (Connor 217). By giving second life to the lost voices of past events, the phonograph could therefore wrench "time out of the linear conformation familiar to the Western mind, projecting past into present" (Brady 47). Enabling people to commune with the voices of lost loved ones, the phonograph became integral to the West's own "rituals" of remembrance and grieving. In this way, the marketing and use of Edison's apparatus in North American culture led to the popular appropriation of the phonograph as a technology of mourning.

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[10] Here, the emphasis is Edison's. In addition to capturing the last words of a person on their deathbed, the phonograph was also used to record a dying person's self-eulogy to be posthumously delivered at his or her own funeral (48).

Barbeau's documentary effectively co-opts the phonograph's power to record mourning and shifts its locus from the bourgeois salon to the colonial frontier. Instead of using the phonograph to preserve the consenting voices of white bourgeois citizens, *Nass River Indians* re-deploys this audio apparatus to "capture" the "fugitive" sounds of an ostensibly vanishing race. Rather than mobilizing the phonograph to re-animate death, however, *Nass River Indians* strategically appropriates this technology of mourning to manufacture the death of a culture that is still alive. Much as taxidermy fetishizes death through the macabre guise of liveness, *Nass River Indians* freeze-frames native culture in a pose of extinction that effectively accentuates, rather than staves off, the colonialist narrative of its pending demise.

In a chapter entitled "Crestfallen Indians" published in his 1923 literary text *Indian Days in the Canadian Rockies*, Barbeau articulates a complex longing for a preservational strategy that resonates with the semiotics of taxidermy. Lamenting, in typically ambivalent terms, the waning of the native race, Barbeau remarks:

> If the red man of America were only an animal, devoid of speech, inherited memories and high emotional [...] powers, the Indian problem would be much simplified for social reformers, instructors, gaolers, et al. He might be gently chloroformed or preserved in a zoological garden; or he might even prosper on a reserve as well as the buffalo in the national parks of Canada. But the blessing of humanity—also its curse at times—is [...] memory (161-162).

Appointing himself the heroic agent of ethnographic salvaging, Barbeau devised new ways of supposedly preserving the "humanity" of the native other by recording an ostensibly dying culture's "inherited memories" on celluloid and wax cylinder archives. In the process of attempting to differentiate his strategies of textual salvaging from the "chloroforming" or "zoological" and "reserv[ational]" confinement of wild animals (a reference that supposedly acknowledges the differences between these two constituencies while oddly considering them in conjunction), however, Barbeau's project to capture the fugitive sounds and images of a vanishing race effectively reinscribed the violence of taxidermic preservation. In his analysis of the salvage paradigm, James Clifford argues that the so-called preservation of native culture via ethnographic textualization hinges on a doubled narrative of "both rescue and irretrievable loss" that encodes "a kind of death in life" and consequently "embalms" its subject matter ("Ethnographic Allegory" 115-116). In turn, I argue that while *Nass River Indians* celebrates audio and visual apparati as technologies of preservation that register the salvaging potential of modern ethnography, the mobilization of these instruments on the colonial frontier effectively inscribes "a kind of death in life"—or, what I theorize as a taxidermic semiotics that marks the native other with the sign of extinction. As a close reading of Barbeau's documentary will demonstrate, the semiotics of taxidermy pivot upon a crucial paradox: in the very process of purportedly reanimating dead matter, taxidermic modes of representation reinforce the spectre of mortality. More specifically, I will argue that *Nass River Indians* sets up a technological competition between film and phonography that impedes the capability of audio apparati to reanimate lost voices and, thus, inscribes the taxidermic sign of death upon the lifeways it purportedly labours to salvage.

Uncanny Industries

Rather than immediately foregrounding the central concern of the film—the salvaging of "songs and chants fading away with the advance of the white man" (*NRI*)—*Nass River Indians* makes its first narrative pit-stop at a coastal cannery near the town of Arrandale. As a pivotal contact zone where modern industry and the "primitive" other meet, the cannery functions as a crucial site of ideological production in Barbeau's documentary. While the intertitles narrating the film's tour throughout the cannery at times attempt humour, the overarching tone is one of ambivalent melancholy. Mourning the upheaval effected by Western industrialization, an intertitle remarks: "[i]n the salmon season the villages are left deserted" (*NRI*). The camera then pans across the desolate shoreline of an abandoned aboriginal village where ramshackle houses synecdochically signify cultural deterioration. Cutting to another intertitle, the coastal cannery is announced as "Fishery Bay"—where "the Indians come to catch salmon for the white man's canneries" (*NRI*). Pointing toward the imbrication of "Indians" within a white-administered industry, these initial intertitles bespeak an ethnographic sympathy for a "waning race."

Not long into the cannery tour, however, the colonial power relations contouring this contact zone become simultaneously more pronounced and yet also more ambivalent.

Focusing on the conveyor belt and the automation of fish processing, an intertitle punctuates: "Machinery now speeds the Indian's fish on the way to civilization's dinner table" (*NRI*). Here, the intertitle's juxtaposition of the "Indian's fish" versus "civilization's dinner table" underscores the capitalist appropriation and Western domestication of a "once-wild" aboriginal resource. The film's commentary also subtly registers the colonialist dichotomization of racialized labour and white, Euro-Canadian consumption. Immediately following the intertitle, the camera cuts to a close-up of fish being processed along an automated conveyor system. This visual focus upon a key component of the factory effectively frames the conveyor belt as a synecdoche for the industrialization of the frontier and the processes of resource extraction this machinery materializes. This automated production line consequently engenders the industrial encroachments which salvage ethnography mourns and, yet, on which it also depends to create the material conditions for native disappearance. Just as the conveyor belt pulls forward relentlessly in one direction, so too the advance of Western civilization is ideologically constructed as inevitable—almost automatic—throughout Barbeau's documentary. In this context, the conveyor belt becomes a metaphor for the relentless speed of Western industrialization that, in turn, accelerates the work of assimilation. Although Barbeau attempts to pit salvage ethnography against industrialization, the cannery tour depicted in *Nass River Indians* implicitly synchronizes the time of industrial capitalist production with the urgent time of anthropological rescue.

By representing the westward movement of industrialized civilization as an "automatic" process, Barbeau's documentary occludes any recognition of the governmental and legislative action that bulldozed over native rights and resources in order to "modernize" the fishing industry in the Northwest for the purposes of capital gain. Beginning in 1878, the federal fisheries department banned the use of nets in the fresh waters of British Columbia. Moreover, the state made a new distinction between "food" and "commercial" fishing, restricting aboriginal fishermen to "food" or "sustenance" fishing, thereby prohibiting the sale of their catch to canneries (Rose 66). This regulation strategically overlooked the fact that the bartering and selling of fish to white settlers had been a crucial component of First Nations economies in the Northwest since the early nineteenth century (Raunet 115). As a result, the Canadian government effectively destroyed the existing economic balance for aboriginal peoples in British Columbia, rendering them a source of subjugated labour for the emerging colonialist, white-administered canning industry (Rose 67).[11] Attempting to eclipse the history of economic exploitation that engendered such an aboriginal labour pool, *Nass River Indians* laments the loss of native tradition in the wake of modernity's westward pull while simultaneously celebrating the machines of progress. In the process, Barbeau's documentary encodes an "aesthetic of the automatic" that overwrites the culpability of the state with a narrative that attempts to naturalize the development of industrial culture as part of the inevitable evolution of Western civilization.

Throughout the cannery tour in *Nass River Indians*, the conveyor belt signifies not only the westward drive of colonial expansion but also the industrial incorporation of the

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[11] For the white industrialists, native labour was desirable because it was cheaper than Chinese or Japanese labour "as it did not have to be imported" (Rose 67). To produce aboriginal peoples as subjugated workers, governmental regulations prevented native groups "from gaining control over the commercial fishing industry in its formative years. The banks also played a major role by refusing needed funds for modernization to Native fishermen who, under the Indian Act, were not considered as full adults and were not allowed to borrow money or mortgage property freely" (Raunet 119). Lynda Jessup also discusses the Canadian government's "active efforts into the 1920s to criminalize […] Aboriginal resource activity by denying, through fisheries legislation, Aboriginal claims to this resource" ("Tin Cans" 56).

native labourer.[12] After screening another long shot of a conveyor belt moving canned fish, an intertitle punctuates: "civilization is overtaking the redman" (*NRI*). Caught in the automated pull of the conveyor belt and the assembly line of the coastal cannery, the "redman" is re-processed as a cog in the machines of industrial production. Such a representational tactic is evident in one segment of the cannery tour where a medium shot depicts native labourers picking up fish with picks and placing them onto the conveyor belt that moves them through the cannery. Explaining the scene, an intertitle asserts: "Machinery now speeds the Indian's fish on the way to civilization's dinner table" (*NRI*). Resting on this scene for an extended moment, the film provides enough time to accentuate the mechanical rhythm of native bodies incorporated into the industrial process. The camera then cuts to the intertitle and then to another scene of fish moving on the conveyor belt. What becomes clear, in retrospect, is that the film depicts the native labourer as part of the cannery's "machinery." The aboriginal worker is not differentiated from the machinic process; rather, he is split from the reference to the historical "Indian" who once owned the fish and, instead, is re-framed as part of the automated system of the cannery. Perched above a fresh catch, picking up fish with picks, the aboriginal labourer is reproduced as a kind of prosthetic extension of the conveyor belt itself. Through such scenes, *Nass River Indians* effectively demonstrates how the disciplinary regime of the modern factory reproduces the native labourer as a Taylorized automaton.

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[12] While Jessup argues that the film attempts to dichotomize industrial mechanization versus the physical labour of the aboriginal worker ("Tin Cans" 57), I contend that such a distinction is significantly troubled throughout the film. Rather than separating the figure of the native other from the world of modernization, the film is fascinated with exploring the native's incorporation—and even consumption—within this industrialized, technologized world.

The filmic logic here is complex. Although Barbeau's film portrays the contact zone of the cannery in order to emphasize the speed of assimilation and, thus, to legitimate the project of anthropological salvaging, the very process of portraying natives at work in the modern world of industry seems to trouble the film's colonialist stereotype of the native as a figure of "pastness." What is at stake, then, is the documentary's "denial of coevalness"—namely, the temporal logic of colonial anthropology that relegates the native other to an anterior time discrete from the present of Western progress (Fabian 69). If the Taylorized automaton is a figure of modernity rather than belatedness, how does Barbeau's documentary reconcile the automation of native labour in the industrialized cannery with the film's narrative of aboriginal disappearance that consigns the native other to the past?

The answer to this problematic reaches to the core of the representational and material violence effected by Barbeau's documentary. Such violence, I argue, is integrally bound up with the film's subtextual commentary regarding the power of Western technology to make native bodies into machinic automatons. Throughout its depiction of the contact zone of the cannery, *Nass River Indians* capitalizes upon the material circumstances of aboriginal labour in order to foreground how modern industry churns racialized workers into Taylorized automatons. In the process, however, the film ironically glosses over the material violence of colonial enterprise by fetishizing the automaton as an *unheimlich* figure of the industrializing frontier. In his 1919 essay on "The Uncanny," Freud analyzes the automaton as an exemplary figure for his theorization of the *unheimlich*. Re-telling the story of "The Sand-Man" from Hoffmann's *Nachtstucken*, Freud explores the protagonist's onset of madness upon discovering that the woman he loves is actually a clock-work automaton (229). From this point of departure, Freud argues that the automaton resonates with uncanny affect precisely because it produces "doubt" regarding "whether an apparently animate being is really alive; or conversely, whether a lifeless object might not be in fact animate" (226).[13] At the heart of the uncanny, therefore, lies a fraught representational ambiguity regarding the states of "life" and "death." In turn, I argue that Barbeau's documentary fetishizes the figure of the Taylorized automaton and accentuates its *unheimlich* registers in order to create uncertainty regarding whether the native in modernity is actually alive. *Nass River Indians* accordingly deploys the figure of the automaton in order to negotiate the complex problem of depicting an ostensibly "dead" or "vanishing Indian" that is yet labouring in the *present tense* of the "modern" world. By aestheticizing the reproduction of the native labourer as a machinic automaton, Barbeau's documentary fetishizes an industrial process that kills the "Indian" (via assimilation and colonial exploitation) and, yet, ironically brings him back to a second, uncanny half-life as a body controlled by Western technology. Thus, under the guise of filmically recording native labourers at work in the post-contact world, the documentary's fetishization of the "Indian's" reincarnation as a Taylorized automaton effectively denies the coevalness of native groups in modernity while simultaneously obscuring their material conditions as alienated labour under colonialist, capitalist industry.

Half-way through the documentary, a transitional intertitle attempts to mark the ethnographers' travel "up a river, back from the sea" (*NRI*) as a break from the coastal cannery and a shift toward the few remaining but ostensibly deteriorating river villages where "authentic" native culture still exists.[14] However, in the process of recording the native other in his "authentic" habitat—his so-called natural environment—Barbeau's documentary ironically continues to foreground Western technology and its power to re-make native bodies. In this way, *Nass River Indians* subtextually links—rather than juxtaposes—the technological machinations of the cannery with those of the anthropological salvaging enterprise. To be more specific, Barbeau's documentary repeats the theme of machinic incorporation, first initiated in the cannery sequences, throughout the film's depiction of ethnographic culture-collecting. In the process, *Nass River Indians* subtextually attempts to reproduce or mimic the Taylorized effects of industrial automation at the level of cinematic and phonographic production. While, on the surface, Barbeau's documentary celebrates the potential of Western technology to preserve the traces of a vanishing race, it simultaneously deploys filmic and phonographic apparati in ways that reproduce natives as uncanny automatons.

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[13] Referring to the work of Jentsch, Freud suggests that such doubts regarding the appearance of "life" and "death" are commonly associated with "waxwork figures, ingeniously constructed dolls and automata" (226). According to Freud, such figures "excite in the spectator the impression of automatic, mechanical processes at work behind the ordinary appearance of mental activity" (226).

A striking example of the semiotics of machinic incorporation inscribed in Barbeau's work may be found in his essay "The Thunderbird of the Mountains." Published in *The University of Toronto Quarterly* in 1932, Barbeau's essay functions as a literary counterpart to the narrative of anthropological salvaging constructed in *Nass River Indians*. Discussing the camera work of Dr. J.S. Watson, the cinematographer cited in the introduction to *Nass River Indians*, Barbeau describes the filmic preservation of aboriginal rites in the following terms: "Dr. Watson, the artist photographer of our party [...] set up his tripod and got his motion picture camera into position. The Indians, seeing this, gathered once more at the foot of the beaver-eagle pole" ("Thunderbird" 96). "Dr. Watson began to turn the crank of the camera, while we witnessed in front of the lens the awakening of a people from its accustomed lethargy" ("Thunderbird" 97).[15] Here, the subtext of the machinic incorporation of the native other operative in the cannery scenes in *Nass River Indians* is uncannily reiterated in the anthropological filming of the "Indian" in his "traditional" or "natural" environment. According to Barbeau, a turn of the camera's crank sets the native in motion like a wind-up doll. In this sense, Barbeau accords filmic technology the power to "awaken [...] a people from its accustomed lethargy"—or to effectively bring a dying race to a kind of second life.

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[14] The particular village visited in this section of the documentary is referred to as "Gitiks" by Barbeau, named after the Eagle Chief called "Old Geetiks" who is later featured in a vignette in the film.

Summarizing the scene of techno-resuscitation on the colonial frontier, Barbeau writes: "What we [...] witnessed that day was a revival of things belonging to the past, quite dead in themselves—real things though, and throbbing with the flush of spiritual life at the moment of their resurrection" ("Thunderbird" 103). Although Michael Taussig argues that ethnographic accounts represent film as "technology" rather than "magic," Barbeau's mystical description of the camera in action on the colonial frontier complicates such a definitive categorization. Moreover, "The Thunderbird of the Mountains" suggests that the Western fascination with the scene of technological encounter—or, as Barbeau puts it, "our worship of the machine"—has everything to do with the coded subtext of salvaging technology's capacity to make native bodies into automatons (107). While, on one level, Barbeau's writing indulges in an ethnographic fantasy of technology's powers of resurrection—the "revival of things belonging to the past"—his commentary simultaneously inscribes the narrative of extinction that affirmatively renders native culture "quite dead" in itself. The technological "resurrection" that Barbeau celebrates in "The Thunderbird of the Mountains," however, reproduces the "vanishing Indian" not as a human but, rather, as an uncanny automaton—a figure marked by the classic *unheimlich* "doubt" regarding "whether an apparently animate being is really alive" (Freud 226). In this way, Barbeau's film celebrates Western techno-powers of resuscitation while simultaneously inscribing the semiotics of taxidermy and its sign of death upon the native bodies it seemingly re-animates.[16]

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[15] Although Barbeau's essay "The Thunderbird of the Mountains" does not explicitly mention the title of *Nass River Indians*, several details throughout the text suggest that it is the "literary counterpart" to the making of this documentary. Jessup's research also corroborates a reading of Barbeau's essay as a written description of Barbeau's filmmaking expedition in the Nass River region ("Tin Cans" 66).

Re-staging the scene of technological resuscitation depicted in Barbeau's 1932 essay through the eye of the camera lens, *Nass River Indians* marks its arrival in a "traditional" native village by filming the songs and dances of its inhabitants. An intertitle signals the filmic recording of native rites on the verge of disappearance, announcing: "The Eagle squaws still know the measures of the old potlatch dances" (*NRI*). The film then cuts to a shot of women bobbing up and down, in a way that appears arrhythmic and unsynchronized. Because the "measures" or beat to this dance are inaudible, there is no sound to anchor (or through which to decipher) the bodies on screen. In the process, the dance of the "Eagle squaws" is framed as comedically nonsensical and primitive. Using humour to fashion the "nonsense" of the other into a kind of colonial joke, subsequent intertitles represent the native as a mime. The next intertitle in the sequence announces: "This pantomimic dance suggests singing the baby to sleep" (*NRI*). The camera then zooms in on one dancer rocking her arms from side to side. Here, the film signals the disparity it creates between the audibility and communicability of the Western spectator (aligned with the role of the ethnographer) and the inaudibility of the native other.

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[16] According to Michael Taussig, stereotypes of the "primitive" often associate this figure with "a formidable mimetic faculty"—and particularly the capacity to engage in "the miming of miming" (213). Linkages between the concept of "the miming of miming" and the figure of the "other," Taussig argues, may be discerned via a study of "A. Buchner's work on eighteenth-century automata or androids, miracles of technical ingenuity imitating the movements of living creatures" (213). On inspection of Buchner's work, Taussig notes that the automaton is most frequently depicted as a racialized other: "There are negroes in top hats and tight breeches [and . . .] 'the dance of the hottentots'" (213). According to Taussig, the last automaton was made in the twentieth century by an American and depicted a dark skinned woman playing a zither. Taussig consequently contends that, according to the assumptions and stereotypes of Western culture, "controlled mimesis is an essential component of socialization and discipline," whereas unconstrained "mimesis is of a piece with primitivism" (219). Barbeau himself reiterates the connection between the "primitive" and mimesis in his 1957 essay "My Life with Indian Songs." Here he asserts: "Indians excel in mimicry" (4). In response to Taussig's theory, I argue that Barbeau's documentary demonstrates the technological control of "primitive" mimesis through the machines of salvage ethnography that, on a subtextual level, make "Indians" into "automatons" that act out the colonial script. In this way, the figure of the automaton circulates powerfully in the subtext of *Nass River Indians*.

In *Audio-Vision: Sound on Screen*, Michel Chion theorizes what he refers to as "the auditives of the eye" (137). Specifically, Chion argues that "into the image of a film you can inject a sense of the auditory," for the "eye carries information and sensations only some of which can be considered specifically and irreducibly visual [...]; most others are transsensory" (137). Throughout *Nass River Indians*, the "auditives of the eye" inscribe the Western ethnographer as the dominant narrative voice via the use of intertitles and the camera lens as focalizing devices. In so doing, Barbeau's documentary conflates narrative voice with a hegemonic perspective in order to effect a silent and yet pervasive "voice-over" of ethnographic interpretation that speaks white supremacy with loud authority. While Chion's theory is suggestive for analyzing ways that sound may be readable in silent film, I want to extend his argument by suggesting that such sound may also take the shape of silence as a positive entity and a palpable presence. At the same time that *Nass River Indians* enables the hegemonic voice of Western anthropology to speak via the "auditives of the eye," the documentary also injects an *auditory sense of* *silence* into the film when portraying the native other. By framing the "Indian" in terms of inarticulate gestures such as "pantomimic" dancing, Barbeau's documentary effectively stifles native voices and positions the other as the ethnographer's muted object of study.

Continuing the theme of the pantomimic native, a subsequent intertitle remarks: "And if we understand Indian—and we do—this little beauty is signalling for a kiss—or maybe a drink" (*NRI*). Cutting to a close-up of a young native woman, the film depicts her smiling and tapping her hand to her lips. The assertion that "we understand Indian" effectively condenses the multiple racist assumptions operative in this section of the film.[17] Firstly, the use of the referent "we" works to strategically conflate the positions of the white male ethnographer and the white Western spectator. Secondly, the claim to "understand Indian" reinforces the film's hegemonic narrative perspective of ethnographic omniscience. Moreover, the invocation of the stereotypical category "Indian" serves to homogenize native cultures and to reduce aboriginals' communicative agency to a primitive form of "body language" that is scripted by the anthropologist. Here, Barbeau's documentary echoes the racist assumptions inscribed in the work of

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[17] Chris Gittings' discussion of Barbeau's documentary is the first critical analysis to explore the film's gender politics in some detail. Gittings argues that, in Barbeau's film, the "Nisga'a women are doubly colonized by the white and male gaze [...] firstly as Aboriginal and secondly as women: the white phallocentric gaze of the camera denies these people a subject position, reducing them to a racial and sexual epithet, the squaw" (51). "The squaw," Gittings continues, "is a fantasy stereotype projected on to the sexed and raced body of the Aboriginal woman by the white male gaze in the service of pleasure" (51). Such stereotyping is strikingly apparent in the above intertitle's interpretation of the dancing woman gesturing for "a kiss—or maybe a drink" (*NRI*). At the same time that the aboriginal female is overtly sexualized in this scene, the intertitle also registers momentary uncertainty about what exactly the woman's gesture does mean. As a result, ethnographic interpretation seems to take recourse to two of the most pervasive and insidious stereotypes regarding aboriginal peoples—sexual promiscuity and alcoholism. Attempting to repair its own stability, then, the intertitle suggests that these two "vices" are integrally related as evidence of the base appetites and lack of social decorum that supposedly defines the native other. As a sidebar, it is important to note that Gittings' analysis is based on a film entitled *Saving the Sagas*—one of two shorter versions of *Nass River Indians* that were re-cut for commercial release soon after the documentary ended its exhibition tour. Footage from these two shorter films were used for the reconstruction of *Nass River Indians* in 2001, as will be described in more detail later in this chapter.

Felix-Louis Regnault, one of the earliest pseudo-scientists to study the racialized other captured on film. In his 1896 essay "Le Langage Par Gestes," Regnault argues that "all savage peoples make recourse to gesture to express themselves; their language is so poor it does not suffice to make them understood" (qtd. in Rony 57). Intensifying the homogenizing effect of his theory, Regnault continues: "The gestures that savages make are in general the same everywhere, because these movements are natural reflexes rather than conventions like language" (qtd. in Rony 57).

With striking similarity, then, *Nass River Indians* reinscribes the stereotype of the muted "savage," resigned to crude gesticulation subject to the deciphering of the anthropologist. Moreover, the pantomimic sequences staged in *Nass River Indians* take Regnault's hypothesis of "le langage par gestes" to its racist limits by belying the film's subtextual incorporation of the native other into the salvage ethnographic industry as a ventriloquized automaton. With the turn of the camera's crank, the native other is re-animated as an uncanny automaton that acts out colonial stereotypes such as the sexual promiscuity of the primitive female or the uncouth gestures of old "Eagle squaws." In this way, the film's declared effort to enliven vanishing native rites and dances actually mass-reproduces colonial stereotypes via the machines of ethnographic capture.

Writing about "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" in the same era as Barbeau's culture-collecting, Walter Benjamin argues that in the wake of technologies such as photography and film, "[t]o an ever greater degree the work of art reproduced becomes the work of art designed for reproducibility" (224). While Barbeau's documentary purports to create an original and authentic record of fading native lifeways, the film, in effect, produces representations of aboriginal peoples designed for easy reproducibility—that is, designed according to an homogenizing stamp of otherness. As a result, Barbeau's filmic production functions as an analog to the industrial cannery: much as the uni-directional assembly line churns out identical products, film's syntagmatic operation churns out frame after frame of stereotyped "Indianness."

Play it Again, Marius

One of the most significant ways that Barbeau's film links the industrialized cannery to the culture-collecting venture occurs via the film's discursive recirculation of the trope of "canning." As a supposedly witty form of punning, the second half of Barbeau's documentary plays on the rhetoric of the coastal cannery tour in order to represent the phonograph as a "canning" or preservational device.[18] While the film's subtext of industrial processing and machinic incorporation may seem like a more logical "fit" in the context of the modern cannery, I argue that the complexities of this subtext become most subtly and also most insidiously inscribed in the film's re-playing of ethnography's primal scene: the phonographic *mise en scène*. Barbeau's screening of phonographic "canning" or salvaging via the medium of silent film encodes the technological incorporation of the native other in powerful ways. As a result, the use of audio and visual apparati and their competition throughout *Nass River Indians* are crucially related to the documentary's inscription of colonial discourse.

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[18] The association between the phonograph and the trope of "canning" was already in circulation by the time Barbeau produced *Nass River Indians* in 1927. Robert Flaherty's 1922 documentary *Nanook of the North* summarizes Nanook's encounter with the phonograph with the following intertitle: "Nanook: How the white man 'cans' his voice" (Taussig 201). It is also interesting to note that by 1905, the verb "to can" was used to suggest "discharg[ing] or suspend[ing] from a situation" (OED). As a result, the association between "canning" and termination—particularly the termination of a labourer—would have resonated for both Barbeau and the film's audience, thereby shadowing references to canning as preservation with connotations of the opposite as well (namely, as termination, or even death). Moreover, by 1904, the adjective "canned" was used in common discourse to describe something that was "mechanically or artificially reproduced, especially [...as regards] music" (OED). This last piece of etymological history complicates the concept of phonographically preserving an "authentic" and "original" record of native voices which Barbeau's documentary so strenuously advocates. It seems as though *Nass River Indians* works overtime to differentiate popular criticisms of phonographic "artificiality" from anthropology's scientific appropriation of this technology for the purposes of capturing "authentic" aboriginal sounds.

A constellation of scenes throughout Barbeau's documentary frame the native encounter with Western audio technology. The first time that a sound machine is visually represented in the film, it appears in the shape of a radio rather than a phonograph. An intertitle announces: "The ways of the white man—and radio jazz—are sweeping away the old color of Indian life of British Columbia" (*NRI*). The camera then cuts to a long shot of a Nisga'a man wearing headphones and adjusting a radio while his friends watch in silence. In this sequence, the intertitle's reference to the "sweeping away" of "Indian life" articulates the threat of cultural loss that drives the film's narrative. The immediate cut to an image foregrounding the radio effectively typecasts it as a technology of assimilation—a technology that can only *transmit* sound, not "record" or "preserve" it.[19] In this way, Barbeau's film first introduces the radio in order to later amplify the salvaging potential of phonography. The competition between technologies throughout *Nass River Indians* therefore is not only operative between audio and visual apparati but, also, between instruments of sound mediation [Figure 34].

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[19] Historicizing the development of radio programming in Canada adds further important nuances to a reading of *Nass River Indians*' anxiety regarding the miscegenation of dominant national culture. Although radio usage in Canada did not become a popular movement until the "radio craze" of 1921-1922—a period when many households began to purchase radio sets for the purposes of entertainment—by the late 1920's, considerable national debate had already been sparked regarding fears of American domination of radio programming and the need for federal supervision to promote "Canadian content" (Vipond 17). In 1928, a Royal Commission (also known as the Aird Commission) was formed to investigate the status of radio broadcasting in Canada. Such governmental investigations led to the Radio Broadcasting Act of 1932—legislation that Prime Minister Bennett hailed as the cornerstone for establishing "a great agency [i.e. the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission] for the communication of matters of national concern and for the diffusion of national thought and ideals" (qtd. in Vipond 270). Historian Mary Vipond argues that for "those who [...] held lofty ideals about the utility of radio in uplifting and acculturating the farm, immigrant, and working-class populations, the demand for jazz [was...] a not unimportant factor in the calls made by the end of the decade" for a national agency to supervise radio broadcasting (89).

The concepts of assimilation and salvaging signalled in this section of the film are complicated both by the semantics and the grammatical separations inscribed in the intertitle. While acknowledging that the "ways of the white man" are involved in the work of assimilation, the specific phrasing distances Barbeau's own fieldwork from this process. As a result, the intertitle implicitly attempts to distinguish anthropological study as an objective "science," distinct from the "ways" of culture. In the process, Barbeau's documentary seeks to redeem the phonograph as an ostensibly disinterested technology of anthropological preservation by extracting it from the fraught cultural sphere in which other technologies such as radio sound supposedly circulate. In turn, the grammatical separations in the intertitle register the complexities of Western cultural space itself, marking a distinction between the "ways of the white man" and "radio jazz" through the spacing of the dash marks, thereby attempting to differentiate between "white" and "black" modes of cultural production.[20] While the intertitle attempts to code "jazz" as a signifier for primitive Africanism, however, it simultaneously belies the way jazz is both separated from and linked to the "ways of the white man"—due to white commodification and co-optation of "black primitivism" as part of a modern, urban bohemian ethos. Through the strained syntax of the intertitle, therefore, Barbeau's documentary momentarily registers a deeply rooted colonialist anxiety regarding the miscegenation of assimilative culture itself. As a result, this intertitle-image sequence focusing on the radio becomes a kind of object lesson in a "bad" technology—a technology that crosses frequencies and enables the pollution of both a purportedly "pure" hegemonic culture and the "authentic" native rites it seeks to preserve and then annihilate. If the radio presents the threat of cultural contamination and assimilation in Barbeau's documentary, the phonograph is subsequently introduced as a technology of purification—one that distills the voice of the native other into an authentic archive. In so doing, the phonograph supposedly preserves "old colour" faithfully and therefore redeems not only contaminated cultures but also the modern anthropologist and his preservational imperative.

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[20] I am indebted to the comments of Mark Simpson, who first noted the differentiation between "white" and "black" modes of cultural production operative in *Nass River Indians* and its relation to the film's anxieties surrounding the signifier "jazz."

The intertitle-image sequence that introduces the radio in Barbeau's documentary belies not one but two related ruptures. If the first rupture concerns a moment of colonialist anxiety regarding the miscegenation of dominant culture, the second rupture concerns the contradictions produced by the silent representation of radio sound. The tactics the film employs in the service of ideological repair hinge upon the symbolic function of the headphones. Significantly, the first time that audio technology is represented on screen, sound is contained, rather than projected, through the work of headphones. Here, the headphones suture the rupture produced by the absence of radio sound. On another level, the headphones worn by the Nisga'a man operate as an instrument of interiority that isolates the wearer within an enclosed sensory environment. As a result, the call of modernity is chanelled directly to the sole Nisga'a listener hooked up to the assimilative machine. Although silent film cannot directly transmit the interpellative call of "civilization," the radio scene in *Nass River Indians* speaks white supremacy more effectively through the absence of sound. In this context, Barbeau's documentary incorporates the native other into the technological machinations of radio's audio transmission. Channelling radio music directly to the native via the use of headphones, Barbeau's film deploys its supposedly naive other as a foil against which the spectator reads absent sound. Filtered through the facial expression of the "fascinated native," the call of modernity is therefore re-presented as mysterious newness to the Western audience of Barbeau's documentary. As a result, the film's use of headphones as an instrument of interiority paradoxically prompts the imaginative reconstruction of "civilization's" call as a transcendent force.

Although Barbeau's documentary attempts to suture ideological rupture via the symbolically-loaded use of headphones, the threat of cultural contamination posed by the "bad" technology of radio and its access to miscegenated airwaves continues to shadow this scene. Accordingly, "civilization's" transcendent voice is deeply compromised by the fact that what is channelled to the aboriginal other is, in fact, radio jazz—the voice of commodified Africanism, not the "pure" voice of white Canadian culture. Implicitly, then, the radio is framed as an unstable technology of assimilation that cannot reliably interpellate the native into "good," unhybridized civilization. By demonstrating the fraught and compromised nature of the radio as an assimilationist machine, therefore, Barbeau's documentary prepares the foundation for positing an alternate solution for engaging with the other: namely, the anthropological capture and study of native voices as synecdoches of a race fated for extinction.

While the radio scene narrativizes the complex problem of native cultural loss in the wake of "bad" assimilative technologies, subsequent scenes strategically re-frame phonographic preservation as a form of cultural recovery and redemption via the work of anthropological culture-collecting. Although the phonograph functions as a crucial symbol of textual recovery throughout *Nass River Indians*, it ironically remains a visually *absent* reference point for the majority of the film. For example, a few minutes after the radio encounter, Barbeau and MacMillan are shown sitting at a picnic table with their native informants, busily transcribing Nisga'a songs into musical notation. As the camera pans across the table strewn with wax cylinders and paper marked by musical staffs and lyrics, these fragments of the recording process become disparate visual cues that point to the missing technology [Figures 35 and 36]. In this way, the phonograph remains suspended in what film critic Teresa de Lauretis theorizes as the "space-off": "the space not visible in the frame but inferable from what the frame makes visible" (26). By positioning the phonograph in the filmic "space-off," *Nass River Indians* denies its spectators the visual assurance or "evidence" of technological capture—namely, the phonographic recording and preservation of ostensibly fading native voices. The *visual* suspension of the phonograph in the filmic "space-off" therefore keeps the possibility of anthropological recovery in *narrative* suspension throughout most of the film.

The ironic disjuncture between the phonograph's thematic significance and its visual absence, however, enables a crucial ideological twist at the end of Barbeau's documentary. The final intertitle of the film operates as a supposedly comedic punchline that explicitly links the cannery tour in the first section with the trip to a "traditional" native village in the second half of the film. This last intertitle pithily remarks: "The cannery cans the salmon. The camera cans the dances and now the phonograph cans the songs—everything canned but the Indians!" (*NRI*). The insertion of the word "now" in the last line of the intertitle, just prior to the statement regarding the phonograph's work of "canning," suggests that the promise of capturing the fugitive sounds of the native other has been deferred until this final moment.[21] Right on cue, presenting the moment of the "now" promised by the intertitle, the camera cuts to the final two shots of the film, articulated immediately one after the other with no additional intertitle interpretation. Here, the perpetually absent image of the phonograph finally attains an on-screen visual representation in the style of the classic phonographic *mise en scène*. In the second-last frame, a Nisga'a man beats a drum and sings into a phonograph, accompanied by two friends [Figure 37]. The film then cuts directly to a medium shot of another Nisga'a man singing into a phonographic ear-trumpet while a young girl joins the chorus [Figure 38].

In the final intertitle-image sequence of the film, therefore, the pervasive absence of sound recording technology gives way to the visual re-framing of the phonograph in terms of a "full presence." In this context, the phonographic ear trumpet assumes a symbolic function as a "national ear"—or, the mimetic ear of a colonial nation listening for the voices of its "prehistory."[22] As a result, the ethnographic fantasy of access to the primitive other is chanelled through the "mimetically capacious" (Taussig *xiv*) technology of the phonograph and its mythic power to capture fugitive sound waves on the brink of disappearance. By visually depicting the phonographic *mise en scène* in the strategically belated haze of "full presence," *Nass River Indians* frames the moment of ethnographic recovery as a kind of colonial catharsis. Western technological supremacy is consequently reinstated as the mechanism that salvages native "pastness" while simultaneously driving the teleological narrative of colonial progress ever forward. In this way, Barbeau's documentary conflates the trope of anthropological "recovery" with that of narrative "resolution" in order to pull the film toward ideological closure.

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[21] Jessup draws attention to the word "now" and its importance in the final intertitle of the film. Although Jessup does not analyze the belatedness of the visual appearance of the phonograph in *Nass River Indians* as I am doing here, she argues that "the inclusion of the word 'now' in the intertitle serv[es] to align the film's narrative chronologically to this point and thus to establish the sequence as the culmination of the story" ("Tin Cans" 64).

[22] My reference here to a "national ear" loosely draws upon Avital Ronell's conceptualization in *The Telephone Book—technology—schizophrenia—electric speech*. Ronell discusses the significance of the "national ear" in relation to the rise of national socialism in Germany during the 1930s and the significance of audio technologies such as the telephone and radio to this process (21). In developing this argument, Ronell argues: "we are not addressing a multiplicity of ears but one ear, technologically unified against the threat of narcissistic blowout. The jouissance of the ear was felt by a whole nation, whether it was listening to Wagner or to the constant blare of the radio, which is said to have hypnotized a whole people, a tremendous national ear" (21). Throughout the film, the on-screen presence of Barbeau and MacMillan—representative figures of dominant Canadian cultural institutions (the National Museum and the Royal Conservatory of Music, respectively)—reinforces the concept of a "national ear" listening in on its colonial others with fascination.

The semblance of resolution that *Nass River Indians* labours to produce, however, is extremely fraught. While the final intertitle-image sequence constitutes a crucial moment of ideological consolidation, it also subtextually belies the colonial violence effected by Barbeau's particular brand of anthropological culture-collecting. The insidious logic of salvage ethnography and its political ramifications are strikingly encoded in the guise of humour in the final intertitle of the documentary.[23] Punning on the trope of "canning," the intertitle typecasts both film and phonography as preservational technologies that, paradoxically, manufacture native dances and songs as products for consumption in colonial centres. The integral punchline on which the film turns, however, is that "everything [is] canned but the Indians!" Wrapped in the rhetorical guise of a joke, the documentary ends by asserting that although native cultural "rites" may be preserved, the "Indian" himself is fundamentally uncannable. The final intertitle of Barbeau's documentary accordingly encodes the volatile paradox of salvage ethnography—a paradox that enables native images and voices to be reproduced onto celluloid and wax cylinders for future safe-keeping while the real referents are erased from the present tense. The narrative of anthropological rescue that *Nass River Indians* inscribes, therefore, hinges its logic of native cultural preservation upon the necessary extinction of "Indian" bodies.

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[23] In his discussion of Barbeau's film, Chris Gittings offers an important analysis of the "racist joke" and its relation to "visual pleasure and entertainment" (48-51). Examining several ideologically-loaded attempts at comedy throughout the film, Gittings demonstrates how the entertainment element of this ethnographic documentary works to "project a fantasy of racial superiority and control over the Other" (51). Reading the film's final intertitle, Gittings argues that it "provides entertainment and humour for the white viewer by punning on the verb *can* and its preservative connotations—canned food stuffs, canned music—but also resonates with the world's slang connotations' of 'to put an end to.' The fantasy of the 'Indians' being canned—made extinct—is projected on to the Nisga'a in the film by the cinematic apparatus to provide visual pleasure for the white spectator" (52).

In Barbeau's documentary, the phonograph's belated arrival in the visualized form of the classic *mise en scène* accordingly signals the disappearance of the native other. Beneath the placidity of the final two images, the re-staging of the phonographic *mise en scène* reinscribes, yet again, the film's powerful subtext regarding the machinic incorporation of racialized bodies. Before analyzing the semiotics of technological incorporation at work in the final sequence of Barbeau's documentary, I want to first provide a point of contrast by recalling the episode from Disney's *Lilo and Stitch* with which I began this chapter. Disney's postmodern re-animation of the phonographic *mise en scène* explicitly traces the imbrication of the alien body within the machinic reproduction of the sounds of Western culture. With one claw on a vinyl record and a mouth stretched open as a phonographic bullhorn, alien Stitch becomes the conduit for the posthumous broadcast of Elvis' voice. Although the machinic incorporation of the "fascinated native" in *Nass River Indians* is not drawn in such explicit or caricatured terms, Barbeau's documentary subtly and yet powerfully encodes the violence of the technological encounter on the colonial frontier. While *Lilo and Stitch* deploys an Elvis-laden soundtrack to demonstrate exactly whose voice the alien is made to speak, Barbeau's film enunciates the hegemonic voice of Western culture in arguably more inventive and insidious ways.

In the case of *Nass River Indians*, the subtext of machinic incorporation is encoded in the space *between* the film's visual and audio dimensions—in the aporia created by a silent film that depicts the recording of sound. Rather than categorize the dimension of sound in Barbeau's documentary in terms of negativity, I argue that the sound of silence is a kind of palpable element in the film that has important political ramifications.[24] Specifically, throughout the silent screening of Nisga'a singers giving their voices over to technological capture, Barbeau's documentary effectively records the muteness of the native other. Through the ethnographic lens, the Nisga'a singers are constructed as uncanny automatons—figures of a technological half-life—that mechanically mime the colonial romance of the "vanishing Indian," or the *poesis* of a dying race. Here, the tactic of recording the preservation of native voices on a silent, celluloid archive spells out the troubling paradox underpinning salvage ethnography. By mediating phonographic preservation via silent film, Barbeau's documentary effectively records the *opposite* of what it claims to do: namely, it stages the inaudibility of the very voices it purportedly labours to salvage.

At the same time that the silent camera of Barbeau's documentary mutes the voices of the Nisga'a, the work of the phonograph in action on the colonial frontier produces complex ventriloquy effects. In *Mimesis and Alterity*, Michael Taussig argues that the phonographic ear trumpet/bullhorn has a doubled mimetic function—it models both "ear function" as well as "voice-throwing" (223). Re-deploying Taussig's argument, I want to suggest that the phonograph is constructed as a kind of anthropomorphized machine that operates via an undecidably doubled ear/mouth. In *Nass River Indians*, the final intertitle-image sequence subtextually encodes the work of the phonograph as a symbolic ear/mouth that provides white Euro-Canadian civilization with access to its colonial other. As a result, Barbeau's re-staging of the phonographic *mise en scène* symbolizes not only the native's giving over of voice to the national ear but, also, his "voice-over" by ethnographic interpretation.[25] The phonograph's doubled ear/mouth blurs the functions of "listening" (recording) and "talking" (playing) such that, in the act of ostensibly recording Nisga'a voices, the phonograph acts as a "talking" machine that ventriloquizes the native other to speak white supremacy through Western technology. In the process of screening Euro-Canadian hegemony and the triumph of its colonialist enterprise, therefore, Barbeau's documentary simultaneously advances a narrative of ostensibly inevitable native vanishing.

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[24] Once again, re-deploying Chion's theorization of "the auditives of the eye" for the purpose of my analysis here, I argue that Barbeau's muted screening of phonographic salvaging strategically injects an *auditory sense of silence* into the film. Here, silence is not "heard" as "lack" or "absence," but rather as a palpable presence that is actively "injected" into the film (rather than operating by default through the lack of a soundtrack).

The complex narrative of aboriginal disappearance that *Nass River Indians* inscribes may be further analyzed via recourse to what I have been theorizing as the semiotics of taxidermy. As previously discussed, the semiotics of taxidermy encode temporal manipulations in order to articulate discourses of preservation that sustain the logic of *perpetual vanishing*. A careful analysis of Barbeau's documentary demonstrates that such time tactics exceed the limits of a classic strategy of "freeze-framing." In order to depict the moment of *Nass River Indians*' filming as the historical brink upon which native culture hovers just prior to disappearance, Barbeau's documentary must invoke both the past and future in its *mise en scène* of phonographic full presence.[26] By deploying a silent celluloid archive to record the salvaging of sound, therefore, *Nass River Indians* erases Nisga'a voices from the film's present while simultaneously projecting these voices into a phonographic future for posthumous broadcast. In this context, film and phonography become technologies not of preservation but, rather, of uncanny *mourning* that phantasmatically reconstruct the native other as lost to the past, even though present in a glimpse of the now.

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[25] Similar to the earlier moment in *Nass River Indians* when the "body language" of the aboriginal woman's dance is interpreted by an intertitle as signalling for "a drink—or maybe a kiss," the final scenes of Barbeau's film also effect a voice-over of ethnographic interpretation. While the final shots of the film encode such a "voice-over" in a much more subtle way than the earlier intertitle's crude remarks, both techniques have the same ideological ramifications in terms of attempting to silence the native other.

Broken Records: Trouble in the Archives

Unpeeling the multiple layers of Barbeau's documentary, it is important to consider how *Nass River Indians* itself became a "lost" text which the academy in turn reconstructed. Re-sutured from stock footage held in the National Archives of Canada, *Nass River Indians* was restored in 2001 as a celluloid fragment of national memory. If Barbeau's film attempts to manipulate temporality by articulating a complex logic that dooms the racialized other to perpetual extinction, the recent reconstruction of Barbeau's colonial text might be said to attempt a second defeat of time in its recovery of a once "lost" text in a phantasmatically re-imagined form. Nearly three decades after Holm and Quimby produced the reconstructed version of *In the Land of the War Canoes*, the reincarnation of *Nass River Indians* demonstrates that academic interest in recovering ostensibly lost colonial texts continues to thrive. Over the past thirty years, however, the rise of postcolonial theory within the university and its impact upon disciplines such as literary studies, sociology, art history, museology, and anthropology (to name only a few), has necessarily re-contoured the terrain in which archival reconstruction takes place. Although it might be tempting to hope that postcolonial critique could "improve" reconstruction processes by prompting consideration of the power asymmetries at stake in the production and restoration of ethnographic texts, the case of *Nass River Indians* demonstrates that processes of archival reconstruction in our supposedly postcolonial era are subject to new complications and pitfalls.

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[26] The strategy of representing a particular moment of the now as the precise moment where native lives are hovering on the brink of extinction is a recurring theme throughout Barbeau's corpus. The fact that Barbeau insisted on the pending extinction of native culture repeatedly throughout his 40 year career—and, thus, continuously recirculated the trope of vanishing aboriginality—exemplifies the problematic logic of perpetual vanishing that I am analyzing here. In his essay "On Ethnographic Allegory," James Clifford describes such a form of perpetual vanishing as "the persistent and repetitious 'disappearance' of social forms at the moment of their ethnographic representation" (112).

While the opportunity to re-view Barbeau's restored colonial text in our current era of postcolonial critique may enable analysis of salvage ethnography's ideological machinations, the temptation in doing so is to feel confident in the benefits of critical hindsight. In the process, postcolonial critique risks historicizing the project of cultural salvaging in a way that brackets it within the discrete parameters of the "past." Working against this critical trajectory, I argue that an investigation of *Nass River Indians* and its institutional re-birth demands a radically different kind of historicization, one that analyzes the complex linkages between the era of anthropological culture-collecting and the work of archival reconstruction today. Using Barbeau's documentary as a point of entry for thinking historicity into critical practices of the present tense, in this section of my chapter I will ask: Have we really transcended the salvage paradigm? In what ways might it persist as a potent ideological force in our current moment?[27]

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[27] Here, I am echoing (in a different context) a problem raised by Virginia R. Dominguez in a discussion entitled "Of Other Peoples: Beyond the 'Salvage' Paradigm" (with panelists James Clifford and Trinh T. Minh-Ha). In her paper, Dominguez argues: "As a postcolonial, poststructural conceptualization of the nature and consequences of our construction of history spreads, salvage becomes symbolic of intellectual,

To address these questions, I want to read *Nass River Indians* as a significant case study for analyzing how the tropes of "loss" and "recovery" integral to salvage ethnography might be recirculated in discourses of archival reconstruction today. In this vein, the very tropes mobilized to legitimate anthropological culture-collecting are ironically reiterated in the institutional re-collection and re-categorization of *Nass River Indians* as a once "lost," now "recovered" text. Although recuperative cultural work attempts to differentiate itself from the processes it critiques, discourses of archival reconstruction run the risk of recirculating the historical and ideological traces that are indelibly sedimented upon key tropes of anthropological salvaging. The risk in question holds potentially significant ramifications for cultural studies in the archives today.

In order to develop this argument, I want to first re-trace the narrative of *Nass River Indians*' history, spanning its origin, its disappearance, and its institutional reincarnation. The narrative I reiterate here is currently a hegemonic one, articulated by the dominant voices of academics, the National Archives, and the introductory intertitles to the reconstructed film itself. In the process of re-telling, I will mark the power relations that contour this narrative and, for strategic reasons, I will temporarily suspend critique until the story has run its predetermined course.

Marius Barbeau's documentary was initially produced in 1927 by Associated Screen News Limited—a company whose major stockholder was the Canadian Pacific

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aesthetic and institutional practices we seek to bury rather than preserve. But are we indeed burying them? What would it mean to transcend 'the salvage paradigm'?" (131). "While in the narrow sense of the word 'salvage' may sound antiquated (passé), in a broader sense I believe it lies at the heart of most forms/practices of representation—visual, audio, literary, expository—in which the representer uses or incorporates material or immaterial objects s/he perceives to be the creation or property of otherness" (131).

Railway (Gittings 47).[28] During this period, the CPR, via its Department of Colonization and Development, functioned as an ideological state apparatus integral to the settlement of the frontier and the violent displacement of First Peoples (Gittings 53). Thus, while Barbeau's film claimed to mourn the loss of the native other, the company that produced it simultaneously assisted the state in expropriating First Nations' territory and contributing to the colonial subjugation of aboriginal groups. In this context, the institutions of national culture brought *Nass River Indians* into being as a filmic supplement to be screened during a series of special evenings associated with the National Gallery of Canada's "Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern" (Jessup "Moving Pictures" 2). Although *Nass River Indians* was not ready for the inaugural show at the National Gallery, when the exhibition went on tour in 1928, the film was screened at such venues as the Art Galleries of Toronto and Montreal for primarily white, bourgeois audiences. This installation was the first "in Canada to combine the work of Pacific coast Aboriginal peoples with paintings and sculptures by prominent Euro-Canadian artists" (Jessup "Moving Pictures" 2). Rather than actually constituting a movement toward a recognition of the artistic, not merely artifactual, value of aboriginal art, however, the exhibition continued to reinforce the colonial dichotomization of the "Modern" Western self and the supposedly atavistic "Native" other.[29]

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[28] Associated Screen News seems to have produced several films regarding aboriginal cultures (see also the 1928 film *Totem Land*) in accordance with the CPR's commercial agenda of enticing travellers to explore the West as a kind of "last frontier" where a glimpse of the "vanishing Indian" might still be found. Both the CPR and the CNR gave free passes to Barbeau and his crew as they travelled westward to conduct ethnographic salvaging in the form of writings, sound recordings, and films (Jessup "Tin Cans" 68).

[29] While it is possible to re-trace the historical circumstances surrounding *Nass River Indians*' production and early circulation, any attempt to reconstruct the sounds and/or silences that contoured the initial

After the travelling exhibition completed its circuit of public display, copies of the documentary were stored at the National Museum of Canada in Ottawa where they were loaned out to educational institutions.[30] Soon after, the documentary was re-cut for commercial release in the form of two shorter films entitled *Saving the Sagas* and *Fish and Medicine Men* (Jessup "Tin Cans" 3).[31] After this point, the history of *Nass River Indians* becomes unclear: the film somehow disappeared in the archives and has not been relocated in its original form since. In 2001, Lynda Jessup, an Art Historian at Queen's University, undertook the project of reconstructing the ostensibly lost colonial text with financial support from the National Archives and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada. Jessup researched and reconstructed Barbeau's documentary by piecing together stock footage from the two re-cut releases and by re-imagining their original sequencing. Technological assistance from Dale Gervais and

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viewing of the film remains incomplete. It is important to note, however, that the film was screened on the same evening and as part of a musical recital performed by the French-Canadian singer, Juliette Gaultier de la Verandrye (Jessup "Moving Pictures" 25). Gaultier was known for her study and performance of aboriginal and French-Canadian songs. The possibility that Barbeau's film was originally screened while a white woman sang native songs (although this still remains somewhat unclear) would add additional layers of complexity to *Nass River Indians*' ideological message regarding the inaudibility of the native voices it purports to preserve. Due to the impossibility of fully recovering the historical event of *Nass River Indians*' initial screening, the following analysis of Barbeau's film will remain attentive to the socio-historical contexts that both shaped and were shaped by the film while simultaneously engaging in close and detailed readings of the reconstructed text as it appears today.

[30] The following are some clarificatory notes regarding the names of major Canadian galleries and museums. The Art Gallery of Toronto has since been re-named the Art Gallery of Ontario. The National Museum of Canada in Ottawa was originally established as the Victoria Memorial Museum in 1910. The named was changed to the National Museum of Canada in 1927. Then, in 1986, the museum was re-named once more as the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Ottawa-Hull (Nowry 436).

[31] This detailed information regarding the film's initial production and commercial reformatting has been researched by Jessup and may be found in her essay "Moving Pictures and Costume Songs at the 1927 'Exhibition of Canadian West Coast Art, Native and Modern'." The shorter film, *Fish and Medicine Men*, comprised most of the footage from the cannery tour depicted in *Nass River Indians*. In contrast, *Saving the Sagas* focused specifically on the preservation of Nisga'a songs by Barbeau and MacMillan. As a result, these two films roughly correspond to the two sections delineated (and yet also subtextually linked) in *Nass River Indians*—i.e. the cannery tour and the trip upstream to a "traditional" native village.

Greg Eamon of the National Archives enabled the film's damaged intertitles to be digitally recreated and then spliced back into the twenty-one minute reconstructed film. Moreover, to recontextualize *Nass River Indians* as a product of colonial history and its racist discourses, Jessup prepared a prefatory set of intertitles that would precede the original credits and would seek to explain the fraught circumstances in which the documentary was initially produced. Both English and Nisga'a versions were added to the reconstructed film, the latter translated by Verna Williams of Wilp Wilx̲o'oskwhl Nisga'a College.[32]

The practical and technical aspects of restoring Barbeau's text offer a compelling point of entry for discussing the complex work of interpretation involved in the reconstruction process for *Nass River Indians*. Summarizing the process in terms of filmic "sequencing" and "digital recreation" does not adequately register the degree of technical and narrative intervention involved in the re-making of *Nass River Indians*. For example, the surviving descriptions of Barbeau's documentary, as outlined in two editions of the National Museums' *Catalogue of Motion Picture Films* raises questions—

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[32] In a telephone conversation on 29 January 2003, Jessup detailed the process for screening and revising the reconstructed film. In order to seek input from members of the Nisga'a community, Jessup submitted a proposal to the Wilp Wilx̲o'oskwhl Nisga'a College, a satellite campus of the University of Northern British Columbia located in the town of New Aiyansh. The College's research panel approved her proposal to travel to the Nass River and screen a working copy of the film for Nisga'a members at three sites—the villages of New Aiyansh, Greenville, and Kincolith. According to Jessup, Barbeau's documentary was essentially "lost" to Nisga'a memory prior to the 2001 reconstruction and community members apparently did not know that the film had ever existed. The Nisga'a community's initial response to the film was that its colonialist portrayal of their ancestors seemed "questionable." In response to these concerns, Jessup suggested the creation of a prefatory set of intertitles that would relocate the film within the history of colonialism. After writing two alternate versions of intertitles for the documentary's introduction, she returned to the Nass River communities and screened the film a second time. In consultation with Nisga'a elders, Jessup selected one of the two sets of introductory intertitles for the final version of the reconstruction. What is missing in this description is an account of the consultation process from the perspectives of Nisga'a Lisims members. I phoned and emailed the Nisga'a Lisims government on several occasions with regard to the reconstruction of *Nass River Indians*, but never received a response. As a result, I want to recognize this absence of First Nations perspectives while respecting Nisga'a Lisims staff members' decision not to respond.

rather than simply providing answers—about what the 1927 film looked like. In the 1933 *Catalogue*, *Nass River Indians* is listed as consisting of three reels of film. The National Museum's 1937 *Catalogue*—the last publication to list the film—adds another layer of complexity by stating that a one-reel, 16mm copy of the film existed as well ("Tin Cans" 72). These two different catalogue entries cause some confusion regarding the original composition and narrative structure of *Nass River Indians*, adding further ambiguity to the question of what the 1927 film looked like. In her essay "Tin Cans and Machinery: *Saving the Sagas* and Other Stuff," Lynda Jessup asserts that she based her reconstruction of *Nass River Indians* in part on the first description of the documentary published in the National Museum's 1933 *Catalogue of Motion Picture Films* (59). While I will not reproduce the description here, I will note that it is a single paragraph that details the contents of three reels of film and, thus, provides only an overarching summary rather than a detailed discussion. As a result, the catalogue entry leaves many questions about the narrative structure of the film and its complete footage unanswered.

Another difficulty contouring the reconstruction process was the fact that the stock footage of the two commercial releases used for the 2001 film was in poor condition. Although *Saving the Sagas* was reasonably intact, the second film, *Fish and Medicine Men*, was badly damaged and several scenes were destroyed (Jessup "Tin Cans" 72). As a result, many scenes that might have been included in the original *Nass River Indians* were deleted from the reconstruction.[33] By detailing some of the technical problematics of filmic reconstruction, I want to foreground the fragmentary nature of the restored film and underscore the compromised work of "recovering" a "lost" archival text. Attention to the technical aspects of reconstruction lays the groundwork for elucidating how these practical elements are linked to broader concerns regarding the narrative and representational intervention that moulded *Nass River Indians* in its current, reincarnated form.

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[33] In particular, the re-enactment of a medicine-man cure most likely depicted in *Fish and Medicine Men* is absent in the reconstructed version of Barbeau's documentary. Evidence that this scene once existed may be found in still photographs of the filmic sequence held in the Canadian Museum of Civilization and published in the 1988 text *Marius Barbeau's Photographic Collection: The Nass River* (127-130).

One of the crucial problems that haunts the 2001 version of *Nass River Indians* concerns the film's mode of historicization. Although Barbeau's documentary has been restored with an awareness of the colonial power relations that contoured anthropological salvaging, it does so in a way that seems to relegate culture-collecting to the past. As a result, the film runs the risk of reinscribing the *grand récit* of Western progress and extending its teleology into a narrative regarding Canada's so-called postcolonial present. One of the places where these ideological problems are most powerfully encoded is in the reconstructed film's additional set of introductory intertitles. Ironically, it seems that the words added to recontextualize Barbeau's documentary and to establish a new frame for viewing the film hold the dangerous potential to lapse into the very historical paradigms so amenable to colonial discourse. Announcing itself as a "contextual note," the new preface is articulated by pairing frames written in Nisga'a with subsequent translated frames written in English. Jessup argues that she chose to begin with Nisga'a intertitles and then follow with English translations as a way of reversing the hierarchical precedence of English as the language of colonialism, the language of dominance in Canada.[34] While the considerations underpinning this strategy of intertitle sequencing are laudable, its effects are necessarily more complicated: specifically, the strategy of first displaying Nisga'a words and then moving to English intertitles also holds the dangerous potential to effectively reinforce the *chronos* of Western progress, the colonial *telos* that narrativizes the native other as a prehistoric voice that vanishes and is superceded by the letter of Western dominance. To prevent the potential problems of beginning with Nisga'a and then moving to English (or vice versa), perhaps a split screen technique could have been used to place English and Nisga'a words side by side and, thus, to display them simultaneously.

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[34] Jessup provided this perspective in the telephone conversation held on 29 January 2003.

The particular rhetoric used in the reconstruction's new preface further complicates the work of historicization at stake in this "contextual note." Attempting to flag the issue of colonialism and its relation to the making of Barbeau's documentary, the preface asserts: "The film you are about to see is part of the history of colonialism in Canada. It reflects the cultural misconceptions of the era" (*NRI*). While the reference here to "cultural misconceptions" seems to euphemize the violence of ethnographic salvaging, the concept of "colonialism in Canada" is further delimited by a kind of historical bracketting that seals off colonial violence within the discrete parameters of the past. At the same time, however, the preface unwittingly performs a rhetorical sleight of hand that collapses the distinction between the 2001 reconstruction of the film and the 1927 "lost" original. By asserting that "the film you are about to see" is part of an historically bracketted colonial enterprise, the preface implicitly suggests that the following film is the same as Barbeau's 1927 text. As a discussion of the reconstruction process already demonstrates, the 2001 film "the viewer is about to see" is a significantly re-worked text that is both part of the history of colonialism in Canada and part of the present moment of archival recuperation. By collapsing the distinction between the 1927 and 2001 texts, therefore, the new contextual preface has the potential to efface the heavy institutional mediation involved in re-imagining Barbeau's documentary. Moreover, the preface ironically risks reinscribing the ethnographic fantasy of unmediated access to an other time, an other culture—in this case, the ostensibly othered culture of salvage ethnography from which the discourse of archival reconstruction labours to differentiate itself.

Such effort, as I have been arguing, is nonetheless unsuccessful in warding off the recirculation of key salvaging tropes in the 2001 reconstruction of *Nass River Indians*. In my close reading of Barbeau's documentary, I argued that the story of anthropological rescue pulls the trope of "recovery" toward narrative "resolution" in the final sequences of the film. The effect reverberates in the present: the discursive reiteration of crucial salvaging tropes in our current era risks conflating the concept of "recovery" with new forms of "resolution." More specifically, the introductory preface to the restored version of *Nass River Indians* at times suggests that textual "recovery" might be read as a sign of postcolonial "resolution"—or at least a gesture toward "restitution." In this vein, the new preface implicitly attempts to legitimize the work of archival reconstruction by presenting itself as an opportunity to re-view the "misconceptions of the [colonial] era" via the assistance of contextual re-framing informed by postcolonial critical hindsight. The question that arises, however, is one of critical tautology: what is at stake in recovering an ostensibly lost colonial text in order to critique its phantasmatically re-imagined form? By overwriting the fact that the film available to viewers in the twenty-first century is a recently re-imagined version of an irretrievable colonial archive, the new preface fabricates an illusory critical distance from the documentary's subject matter and, thus, risks inscribing a premature form of postcolonial closure upon ongoing political struggles.

Such problems become increasingly apparent in the last of the prefatory intertitles, particularly in the final one featuring an insignia for the Nisga'a Lisims Government and stating: "However, the people, places and time recorded in this film are an important part of our history. They should be remembered" (*NRI*) [Figure 39]. As the final comment punctuating the introductory preface, this intertitle raises significant concerns. I would like to read the Nisga'a Government insignia as a recognition of the political authority of a group once studied by Barbeau. At the same time, however, its presence in the film risks another interpretation: that (beyond whatever initial intention motivated its use) it has been appropriated as a branded endorsement that *authenticates* Barbeau's reconstructed text. My reading here is further substantiated by the intertitle's assertion that *Nass River Indians* has effectively "*recorded*" the people and places it depicts. Here, the film's discourse of archival reconstruction seems to verge on recirculating not only the salvaging trope of recovery but, also, the concomitant ideological assumptions regarding technology's ability to capture or preserve cultural artifacts in their original or authentic forms.

On a broader level, I feel cautious about how the preface's acknowledgement of the Nisga'a Lisims Government might be read as another sign of postcolonial "resolution." Although co-operative partnerships between First Nations and museological institutions could be a beneficial way to strategically recuperate colonial archives, the reconstruction of *Nass River Indians* does not approximate such a process. While Nisga'a Lisims members were shown the film prior to its completion and their responses were solicited, both the financial agency and the decision-making authority for the reconstruction remained in the hands of a Euro-Canadian academic and the National Archives of Canada. Such authority is evident in the opening credits to the reconstructed film where only Lynda Jessup of Queen's University (for "concept, research and sequencing") and Dale Gervais of the National Archives (for "intertitle scans and digital reconstruction") are credited. In contrast, the important work of intertitle translation by Verna Williams, a member of the Nisga'a First Nation, remains conspicuously absent.[35] Reading the final prefatory intertitle in the context of these details, then, the collective reference to "our history" in the last sentence seems at best unclear and, at worst, an effacement of the neocolonial power relations that continue to contour the politics of access to and intervention in the archives of national culture today.

Nass River Indians' recent recirculation as part of an international exhibition entitled "Unseen Cinema: Early American Avant-Garde Film, 1893-1941" further complicates and exacerbates the film's discursive re-framing as a once lost, now recovered text.[36] Describing itself as "a retrospective of restored and preserved films detailing the unknown accomplishments of American pioneer filmmakers," this enormous exhibition, "[b]ursting with one hundred and sixty titles in newly restored or preserved 35mm and 16mm film prints," seeks to challenge established film history narratives by suggesting that the "quantity and quality of the films recovered from the first six decades of cinema's genesis demonstrates a vital avant-garde film culture in America prior to [the work of] Maya Deren" in the 1940s (Posner 39). Although the relation between *Nass River Indians* and the exhibition's principal category of "Early American Avant-Garde Film" seems puzzling, Barbeau's film was included on the basis of its link to filmmaker James Sibley Watson. As noted previously, while Barbeau produced and starred in the documentary, Watson worked behind the camera, filming the action. Because Watson is known amongst film historians for his innovative work in *The Fall of the House of Usher* (1928) and *Lot in Sodom* (1933), his participation in the earlier *Nass River Indians* has rendered this lesser-known documentary of interest to historians of American avant-garde film and, hence, to the "Unseen Cinema" exhibition. The recirculation of Barbeau's film in this context, however, tends to dissimulate its political implications as a fraught ethnographic text and, instead, frames it according to the primarily aesthetic category of "avant-garde" film.[37] As the exhibition's curator

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[35] In the 29 January 2003 telephone conversation, I asked Jessup who was responsible for the translations. She named Nisga'a member Verna Williams and mentioned that she credited Williams in a footnote in her recently published article in the *Canadian Journal of Film Studies* (Spring 2002). (In a subsequent email this spring, Jessup noted that she also credited Williams in her brief essay in the *Unseen Cinema* catalogue—a text that will be discussed later). In order to discover this information, one would have to cross-reference the film with these particular essays—a research process that only a scholar interested in the field would probably engage in. Moreover, the crediting of Williams in the *Film Studies* article is phrased in the following terms: "My thanks also goes to Verna Williams of Wilp Wilxo'oskwhl Nisga'a, who provided the correct spelling of the Nisga'a words used in connection with the film" (27). The same phrasing—namely "providing the correct spelling of the Nisga'a words that have been used in connection with the film"—is used in the footnote for the *Unseen Cinema* article (118). Here, the powerful and nuanced work of translation is reduced to the didactic matter of "correct spelling" in a way that diminishes the input of Verna Williams in the reconstruction process. In an email dated June 15, 2004, I wrote Jessup to discuss my critique, including my concern about Williams' absence in the credits. In response, Jessup replied by saying that "Verna is not credited in the intertitles for a number of reasons, which you may find surprising" (Email Correspondence). I have since requested elaboration on this point, but Jessup has declined to do so, preferring to explain these issues herself in a future essay regarding the reconstruction process for the film.

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[36] "The Unseen Cinema" exhibition had its world premiere at the Moscow International Film Festival in 2001 and its American premiere at the Whitney Museum of American Art later that same year. The exhibition is scheduled to tour until December 2005 (*Unseen Cinema Website*).

[37] It is not my intent to foreclose upon possibilities for understanding the category of avant-garde film in politicized terms. The presentation of the field in articles about "The Unseen Cinema" exhibition, however, seems to favour aesthetics over politics in a way that implies an incompatibility between these two concepts. For example, in curator Bruce Posner's introduction to the exhibition catalogue, he argues: "The Great Depression and the attendant politicization of artists and intellectuals ended the grand artistic experiment [namely, the early avant-garde movement], and filmmakers shifted to matters of social concern

Bruce Posner puts it, the "weakest part of the film is the ethnographic element; the strongest part is that it is beautiful" (Telephone Interview). When viewed from this perspective, the supposed rationale for reconstructing *Nass River Indians* as a recontextualized example of colonial ideology and politics in early twentieth-century Canada seems to fall out of the picture. A film ostensibly rescued from oblivion for the purposes of prompting critical remembering of Canadian colonial history is therefore re-screened as an example of American cinematic innovation—a celebratory testament to early avant-garde aesthetic experimentation—rather than a fraught text evidencing the ideological violence of the ethnographic gaze.

Besides their relation to early avant-garde aesthetics, what the 160 films screened in the "Unseen Cinema" retrospective have in common is their status as celluloid texts "that were long deemed lost or inaccessible" but, via the recent work of archival reconstruction, have been "salvaged" from obscurity (Haller *Anthology Film Archives Website*, Anderson *Film Forum Website*). As a result, "all [the] films were literally 'unseen' soon after their creation" (Posner 39). This monumental exhibition, therefore, constitutes a celebration of "saving lost films" and "reclaim[ing] a past that is in danger of being lost" (Haller *Anthology Film Archives Website*, Anderson *Film Forum Website*). Here, the tropes of "loss" and "recovery" so integral to Barbeau's documentary and its institutional reconstruction are reinscribed and amplified yet again. Organizing once "lost," now "rescued" films under the title of "Unseen Cinema," the retrospective implicitly entices audiences with the possibility of seeing the unseen—a solicitation that holds the slippery potential to slide from aesthetic "appreciation" to fetishization.

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and responsibility. From then on most experimental filmmakers worked in isolation and under anonymous conditions" (40).

Moreover, the overarching title of the exhibition takes on particularly fetishistic and voyeuristic resonances when applied to *Nass River Indians*, as it accentuates the intensely problematic *raison d'être* of ethnographic cinema—namely, its desire to capture "the unseen" native other hiding in remote spaces and to render this object of study accessible to the ethnographic gaze. This effect is only compounded by the particular organizing rubric for program 11 in which *Nass River Indians* is screened. Entitled "Ecstatic Moments along the River of Time," the program's rubric gestures toward the insidious temporal dynamics inscribed throughout Barbeau's documentary that construct the Nisga'a as a vanishing race accessible only via a retrospective trip down the "River of Time." By recirculating *Nass River Indians* according to the particular rubric of program 11 and the overarching framework of "Unseen Cinema," therefore, Posner and his curatorial colleagues return Marius Barbeau's filmic experiment in salvage ethnography to the viewing public in circumstances that fall far short of the proposed goal of critically re-membering and politicizing colonial violence in early twentieth-century Canada.

Although the restoration of *Nass River Indians* may be intended to initiate new trajectories for postcolonial critique, the discourse of archival reconstruction that seeks to recontextualize Barbeau's documentary risks reinscribing a narrative *telos* driven toward *post*colonial closure. Moreover, the practices of reconstructing and recirculating this film have complicated and troubled a politicized re-viewing of Barbeau's colonialist text. Despite these problems, the case of *Nass River Indians* and its institutional re-birth serves an important function if it prompts crucial thought for cultural studies in the archives today. Specifically, this reconstructed film underscores the importance of interrogating the neocolonial power relations that continue to contour work in the archives of national culture. As well, it demonstrates the need for cultural analysts to be rigorously self-conscious about the ideological and political history in which the tropes of "loss" and "recovery" circulate. Although the archival power to "recover" and "preserve" has become a familiar topic of theoretical investigation, it is imperative to study the particular ramifications of reconstructing colonial texts under the aegis of postcolonial critical intervention. How might the work of postcolonial archival restoration be co-opted by the state to re-claim national plunder? How might cultural analysts resist such processes? At the very least, the case of *Nass River Indians* offers a way to begin tackling such questions. Specifically, it suggests that a political commitment to postcolonial reckoning necessitates an ongoing examination of the methodologies and practices employed in its service.

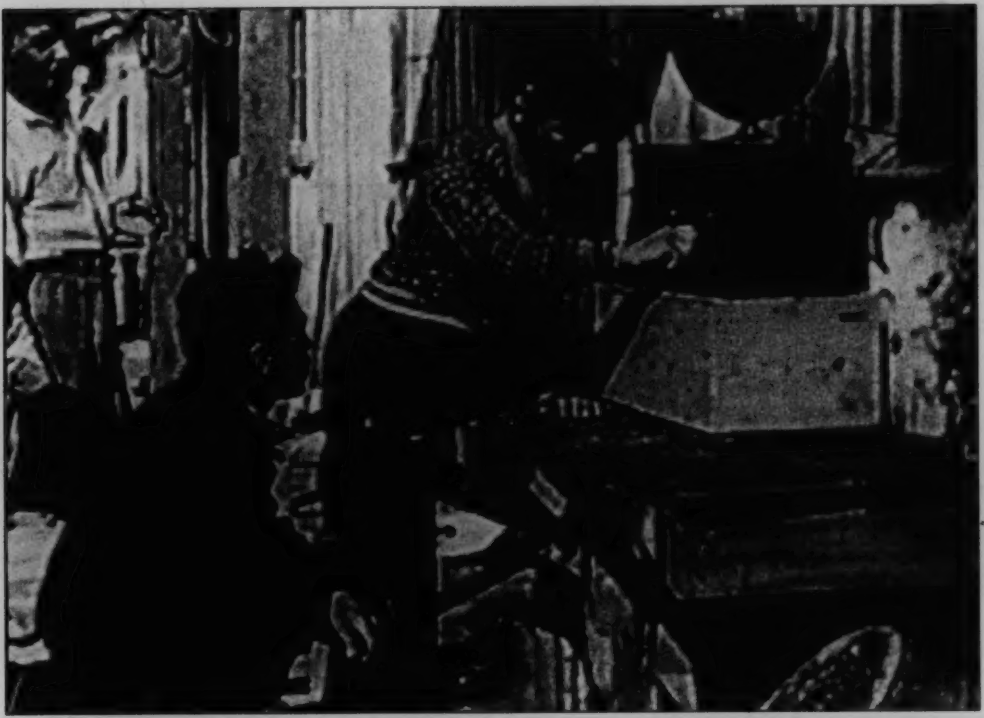


Figure 34: An unnamed Nisga'a man wears headphones and listens to a radio. All images for this chapter are film stills reproduced from *Nass River Indians* (reconstruction 2001), courtesy of Astral Media Inc. and the National Archives of Canada.

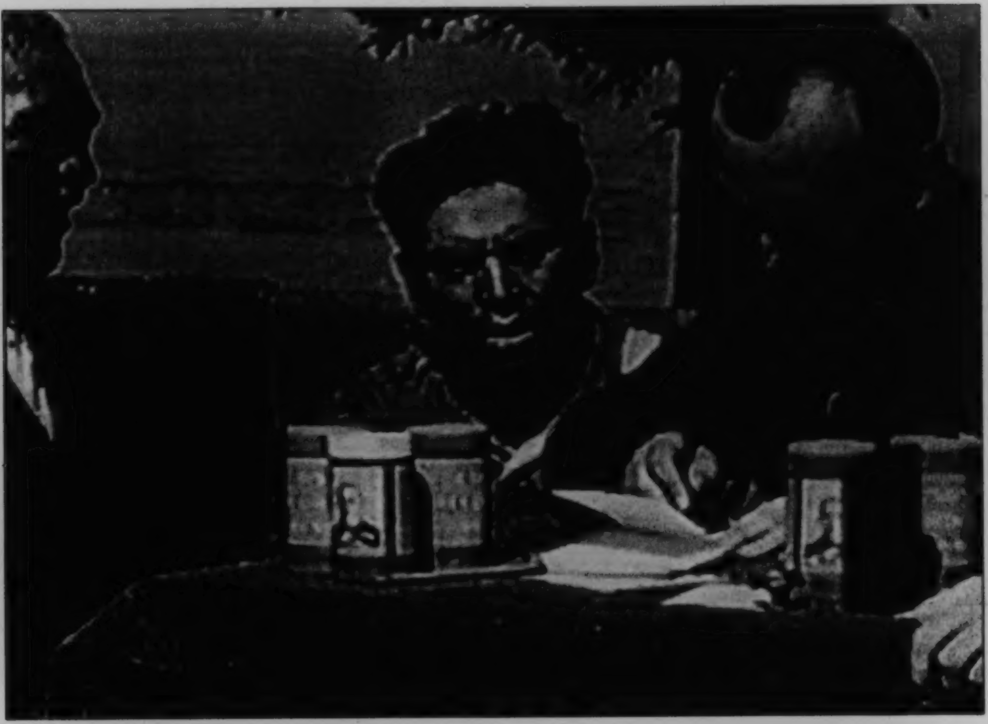


Figure 35: A close-up shot of Barbeau at work salvaging the songs of native others. Wax cylinder canisters and Barbeau's hand-written transcriptions are foregrounded in this shot. Although the aboriginal figures depicted in *Nass River Indians* are never named (with the exception of the pseudonym "Old Geetiks," attributed to actor Frank Bolton), Lynda Jessup has traced the names of several of the characters by cross-referencing the film with still photographs held in the photographic archives at the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The "native informant" on the far left in this scene is Frank Bolton (Tx̱aa Lax̱hatkw of Gwinwok̲) while the second "native informant" to his right is William Beynon (Gwisge'en), the well-known Tsimshian interpreter (Jessup "Moving Pictures" 7).

Figure 36: A long shot of the same scene of ethnographic transcription. From the far left, the men depicted are: Frank Bolton (Tx̲aa Lax̲hatkw of Gwinwok̲), William Beynon (Gwisge'en), Marius Barbeau of the National Museum of Canada, and Ernest MacMillan of the Royal Conservatory of Music in Toronto (Jessup "Moving Pictures" 7).

Figure 37: The classic phonographic *mise en scène*. The three men depicted in this scene are Albert Allen (Gyedimgald'o of Gitanmaax), Robert Pearl (Wixaa of Gitanyou), and Frank Bolton (Txaa Laxhatkw of Gwinwok) (Jessup "Tin Cans" 54).

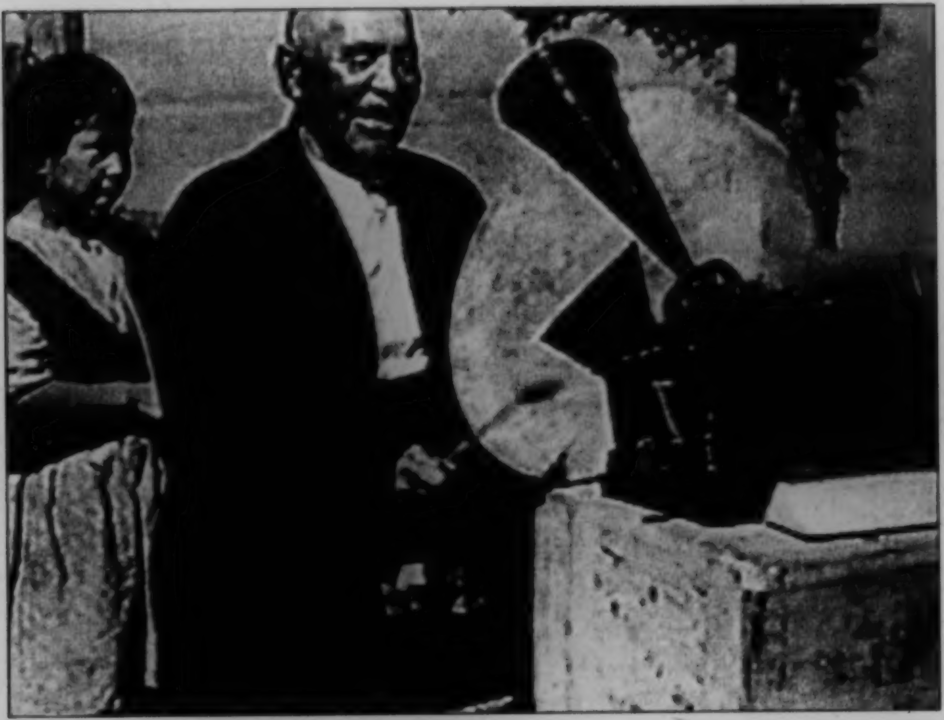
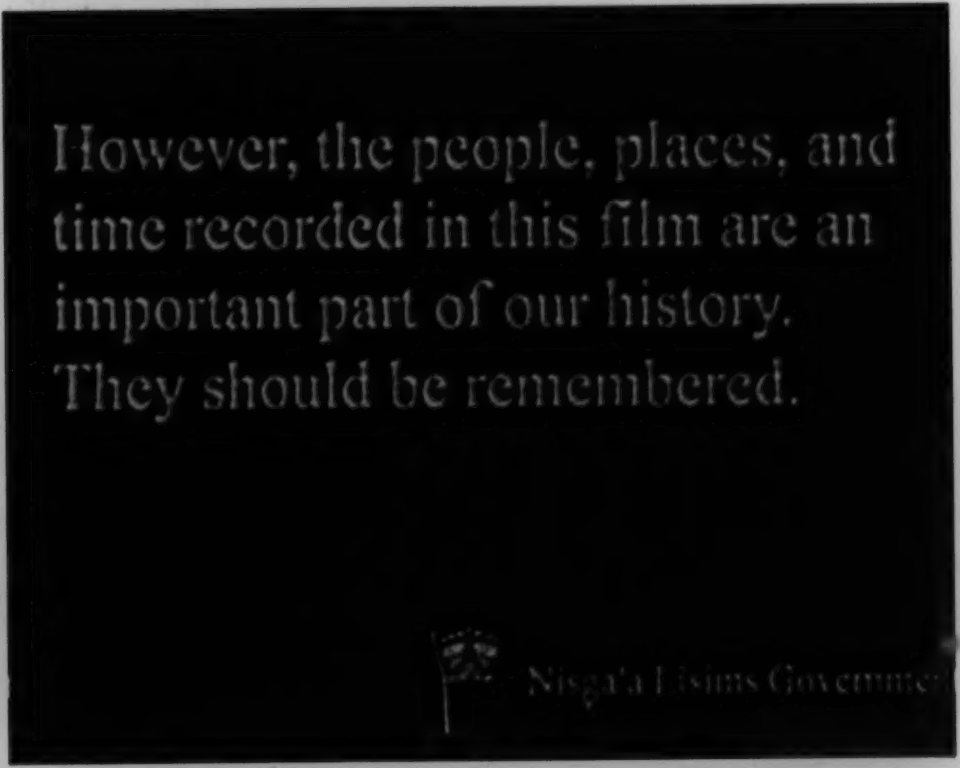


Figure 38: The final shot in the film—the phonographic *mise en scène* re-staged once again. A still photograph of this scene is reprinted in the Canadian Museum of Civilization's publication, *Marius Barbeau's Photographic Collection: The Nass River* (122). Here, the man beating the drum is identified as Frank Bolton (119). In other sources, the girl accompanying Bolton is identified as possibly being his granddaughter (Jessup "Tin Cans" 65).



However, the people, places, and time recorded in this film are an important part of our history. They should be remembered.

Nisga'a Lisims Governme

Figure 39: A still image of an introductory intertitle added to the 2001 reconstruction of Barbeau's film.

Chapter Four

The Case of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi: Human Remains, Repatriation, and the Politics of Biocolonialism

While chapter three's critique of *Nass River Indians*' institutional reincarnation links the work of archival reconstruction to a problematic teleology of postcolonial progress, the following case study extends and complicates this argument by investigating the proliferating ways such a *grand récit* may be reinscribed. Examining the discovery, study, and eventual reburial of a 550 year old aboriginal body preserved in a glacier in northwestern British Columbia, this chapter will consider how new practices of so-called collaboration between dominant museums and First Peoples—and, in particular, processes of repatriating human remains—may be co-opted as evidence of *post*colonial closure in contemporary North American society. Although efforts toward negotiations between museological and scientific institutions and First Peoples regarding the return of human remains and cultural property does gesture toward a significant change in attitudes and practices within dominant research institutions, such negotiations have not yet begun to adequately redress the neocolonial power asymmetries that continue to structure these processes. Via close readings of provincial and aboriginal government press releases, scientific and museological reports, and mainstream media coverage, this chapter will argue that a closer examination of the practices surrounding the retrieval, storage, and study of this frozen corpse demonstrates how neocolonialist and racist discourses may both reinvent and dissimulate themselves under the guise of new tropes such as "cooperation" and "collaboration." In this sense, the following case study expands upon the implications teased out in chapter three by indicating how the master narrative of postcolonial closure is not isolated to certain academic discourses; rather it is quickly becoming a popular celebratory refrain in mainstream culture.

Archaeological Discovery/*Post*colonial Recovery?

Before engaging in a detailed critique of the political implications of this case, it is important to first briefly summarize key events surrounding the discovery and study of the human remains in question. Such "events," however, are not discrete and containable entities for analysis; rather, they are shaped by the discourses that mediate and articulate them in narrative form. As a result, I want to now engage in a preliminary re-tracing of the dominant narrative contouring this case, keeping my analytic interventions to a minimum until this hegemonic story has been sketched out. An important caveat to underscore is that the following narrative is by no means complete; rather, it stands as a brief and provisional introduction to a multi-faceted case with nuances that will be unravelled throughout the course of this chapter.

On August 14, 1999, three sheep hunters travelling across an icefield in northwestern British Columbia's Tatshenshini-Alsek Park spotted something other than animal prey in their sight-line. Instead of wildlife, the men discovered fragments of "death"—the bodily remains and personal effects of a human corpse exposed at the edge of a melting glacier. "Nearby," one journalist described the scene, "was an ancient wooden throwing dart, a hat made of finely woven cedar or spruce roots and the remains of a fur robe" ("Out of the Ice" 57).[1] The conclusion drawn by both the hunters and the mainstream press was that the "mysterious corpse clearly belonged to a traveller from another time" ("Out of the Ice" 57)—the supposed time of a "prehistoric" aboriginal past ("Ice mummy investigation"). Framing the scene via the lens of popular archaeology—a lens shaped by stereotypes of "mysterious" ancient peoples—hunter Warren Ward's recollection of the discovery foreshadows the fascination with so-called primitive otherness that haunts this story throughout.[2] As Ward puts it: "I looked at it through my binoculars and I saw it—it looked like the National Geographic pictures we'd been seeing for years" ("Ancient Man Uncovered"). Recognizing the archaeological and anthropological value of their find, the three men abruptly ended their expedition, immediately returned to Whitehorse to report the discovery, and thus set in motion a series of inter-governmental and inter-organizational efforts to retrieve the body and to formulate a plan of action for "managing" the remains.[3]

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[1] The article cited above does have an author listed. However, because several of the news articles I will cite throughout this chapter do not have named authors, for the sake of consistency, I have decided to parenthetically cite these items with article title and page number only. If the article was obtained online,

Three years prior to the discovery of the frozen corpse, the British Columbia government signed a co-management agreement for Tatshenshini-Alsek Park with the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations (CAFN), within whose traditional territory the parkland is situated. The "Tatshenshini-Alsek Park Management Agreement" was passed into law by an order in council on April 25, 1996. In conjunction with adjacent territory

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no page number is noted. Further bibliographic information may be obtained in the works cited of this dissertation. Other articles not from the mainstream press will be cited via the author's last name.

[2] The trope of the "mysterious" body is repeated throughout media reports and governmental press releases regarding the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case. Heather Pringle refers to the remains as the "mysterious corpse [...of] a traveller from another time" ("Out of the Ice" 57). Alex Tavshunsky discusses the "many mysteries of the unique discovery" ("Latest estimates of hunter's age") while another article in the *Edmonton Journal* refers to "the mystery of a man who died five centuries ago" ("DNA study"). The trope of the "mysterious," I contend, is crucially linked to discourses of exoticization that render the other a "riddle" or "puzzle."

[3] The three hunters, Bill Hanlon, Mike Roch, and Warren Ward, were non-natives from southern British Columbia who went to the park after winning a permit to hunt in the region (Beattie 147).

in Alaska and the Yukon, the region was designated a UNESCO World Heritage Site, constituting "the largest international protected area in the world" ("Tatshenshini-Alsek Park Management Agreement" 1). While the Yukon government officially confirmed the CAFN's rights to their traditional territory (which extends across the provincial border) in 1993 with the signing of a land claim agreement, the British Columbia government has yet to follow suit. Under pressure due to the Yukon precedent, B.C. politicians deployed the park co-management agreement as a partial concession to Champagne and Aishihik claims and a supposedly "incremental step towards a [...] Settlement Agreement" ("Tatshenshini-Alsek Park Management Agreement" 2). Under Section 9.2 of this document, the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations were granted "sole authority over the following matters related to the Park":

> (a.) the use of aboriginal languages; (b.) the provision of aboriginal place names; (c.) the naming of former Champagne and Aishihik First Nations' community sites and heritage routes; and (d.) the interpretation and depiction of the aboriginal history and traditional land use as known through archival, archaeological, anthropological, toponymic and oral history research and sources. ("Tatshenshini-Alsek Park Management Agreement" 11)

Section 9.6 of the agreement further asserts that the CAFN has "the authority to use, manage, conserve and protect heritage site areas in the Park in a manner that is consistent with the purpose and objectives of this Agreement and the provisions of the Park management plan" (12).[4]

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[4] A "Settlement Agreement" is another term—often used in legislation and governmental negotiations—for a land claim agreement. The Champagne and Aishihik First Nations Final Agreement for the land claim in the Yukon was signed in 1993 by the CAFN, the Government of Canada, and the Government of Yukon. The Agreement was a result of more than 20 years of negotiations. Since 1993, the CAFN in the Yukon has enacted its own legislation on income tax, fish and wildlife, and "traditional pursuits" ("History" CAFN Website). As well, the CAFN co-ordinates many municipal and social services such as health, nutrition, employment, and training ("History" CAFN Website). In B.C., although the Tatshenshini-Alsek Park Management Agreement claims to be an "incremental step" toward further land claim negotiations, to this

While some media reports have suggested that the Tatshenshini-Alsek Agreement accorded "First Nations ownership of the body and the artifacts" ("Iceman Cousin Cometh?"; "Ancient Man Uncovered"; "DNA study will try to link" A8), a reading of the actual document demonstrates that the matter of ownership and control is left unclear and undecided. Despite the document's recognition of the CAFN's "sole authority" over aboriginal language use and the "interpretation and depiction" of "aboriginal history," there is no explicit statement regarding the management of, and legal jurisdiction over, artifacts and human remains discovered within the park's boundaries—concerns that extend beyond the scope of "depicting history." At the same time, however, the Park Management Agreement's recognition of the CAFN's role in "conserv[ing] and protect[ing]" the ambiguously-termed "heritage sites" of the park did provide this aboriginal government with enough bargaining power to assert their right to be involved in the decision-making processes surrounding the frozen corpse. As a result, when the three hunters arrived back in Whitehorse on August 16 and reported their find to the Yukon Heritage Branch's Beringia Centre, the B.C. Parks Branch and the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations were the first to be notified.

Mainstream media narratives suggest that the significance of the discovery and the complexity of its retrieval necessitated a supposedly collaborative approach to recovering the corpse from the icefield. A diverse team was assembled to return to the glacier site, including anthropologist Al Mackie of the B.C. Archaeology Branch, forensic anthropologist Owen Beattie from the University of Alberta, B.C. Parks Officials, CAFN Heritage Planner Sarah Gaunt, and CAFN Chief Bob Charlie ("Kwäday

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day, the matter of the CAFN's land claim still remains unresolved and the Park Management Agreement still stands as a partial concession.

Dän Ts'ínchi" *CAFN Website*). Following a detailed process of extraction and specimen preservation, the body and accompanying "artifacts" were flown to Whitehorse for storage and supervision by specialists. An emergency meeting of the CAFN Elders' Council was convened and agreement was reached that "efforts should be made to learn something about this person" ("Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi" *CAFN Website*). In contrast to the media's categorization of the corpse as an "archaeological find," the CAFN council regarded the remains as a potential ancestor and a past human life, endowing the body with a name: "Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi," meaning "Long Ago Person Found" in the Southern Tutchone language. Soon after press releases announced the discovery on August 24, however, the body was given a second name by the popular media. Based on initial reports estimating that Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi was an aboriginal male in his late teens or early twenties who died an accidental death, the media assigned a gendered nickname, re-dubbing the frozen corpse the B.C. "Iceman" ("Iceman provides clues" A4; "Kwaday Dän Sinchi, The Yukon Iceman"; "Lost Worlds Rediscovered").[5]

By August 31, 1999 another agreement "respecting the management of human remains and associated artifacts" from the discovery was drawn up between the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations and the British Columbia Archaeology Branch (part of the provinicial Ministry of Small Business, Tourism, and Culture) ("Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi Agreement" 1). Unlike the Tatshenshini-Alsek Park Management Agreement, the new document was brief (two pages) and was never passed as an order in council.[6] The document "recognize[d] the importance of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi as an opportunity to learn about a past time in human use of the Tatshenshini area" and asserted the "mutual desire" of both parties "to protect and study these ancient remains" ("Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi Agreement" 1). To fulfill these "desires," the agreement hinged upon the "release" of the remains to the B.C. Archaeology Branch and the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria for safekeeping and study "for a period of not less than 15 months" ("Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi Agreement" 2).[7] At the end of this period, Long Ago Person Found would be "returned for final disposition" to the CAFN ("Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi Agreement" 2). According to the division of responsibilities for study and supervision, the Archaeology Branch and the RBCM were given the task of "coordinating the research on the human remains" while the CAFN was appointed caretaker of the artifacts found near the corpse (Beattie 133). In practice, however, the majority of the artifacts appointed to the care of the CAFN were housed at and co-managed by the Yukon Government's Heritage Branch (Beattie 133). This so-called partnership agreement became the guiding blueprint for the supervision of the human remains, resulting in the scientific examination and study of the body by multiple international researchers and the eventual cremation and reburial of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi in July 2001.

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[5] In a 2000 article in the *Canadian Journal of Archaeology*, Owen Beattie reported that further study of the remains indicated that Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi was an aboriginal male of the age initially estimated. Research also suggested that the "young man" met "an accidental death on the glacier" (143). At the time of the publication, Beattie also stated that although the body was believed to be "aboriginal," it remained unclear as to "what culture or people he belonged to, or what community or settlement he would have considered home" (143).

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[6] The legal status of this document remains in question. The agreement was signed by both the Director of the B.C. Archaeology Branch and the Director of CAFN Lands and Resources. Upon asking Grant Hughes, Director of Curatorial Services at the Royal British Columbia Museum, about the legal status of the agreement, he commented: "[i]t has not been tested in court so it is impossible to presume what a court would determine" (email correspondence).

[7] In the formal agreement drafted by the BC Archaeology Branch and the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, the original date for the return of the remains to the CAFN was listed as December 31, 2000. A caveat was included in the agreement, however, stating that the date could be postponed if both parties (as specifically represented by the "Management Group" consisting of three members selected by the BC Archaeology Branch and three members selected by the CAFN) consented. Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi was held by the BC Archaeology Branch for a longer duration than initially stated, as the body was not reburied until July 2001. My reading of the management agreement is further supported by an article published in the aboriginal newspaper *Raven's Eye*, which asserts that "a management agreement was reached with a deadline of December 31, 2000" ("They call him").

Highlighting the purportedly collaborative management of the frozen remains, the mainstream media hailed the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case as "a model of co-operation between a first nation and a museum" ("Iceman provides clues" A4). Quoting Grant Hughes, Director of Curatorial Services at the Royal British Columbia Museum, a *Globe and Mail* article framed the agreement between the BC government and the CAFN as striking an effective "balance between the needs of the scientific community and the cultural sensitivities to the aboriginal community" ("Iceman provides clues" A4).[8] Moreover, the body's return to the CAFN and its subsequent reburial has been framed as a sign of resolution—an index of co-operation between First Nations groups and the state in Canada's supposedly postcolonial present. Media coverage of the B.C. Iceman's reburial, commemorated with a funeral and potlatch led by the CAFN, has suggested that the body's laying to rest at the site of its initial discovery has brought the story to a close. In this vein, the reburial of the frozen remains has come to symbolize not only the peaceful conclusion to the management of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi but, also, the "laying to rest" of a supposedly bygone era of colonial injustice in Canada ("Funeral, potlatch to honour" A5).

In re-tracing this narrative, I have outlined the hegemonic discourses articulated by the mainstream media and the British Columbia government with the strategic purpose of first analyzing their contours and then challenging their stability by examining the arguments and perspectives such discourses exclude. To implement such a project of destabilization, it is important to mark the points of intersection as well as the spaces of disjuncture between mass media reportage, provincial and aboriginal government press releases, CAFN communiqués, scholarly articles, and governmental legislation and "agreements." Contrary to my initial expectations, however, there is a significant amount of congruence, similarity, and even reiteration amongst many of these texts, such that heterogeneity and contention are, at times, difficult to detect. Rather than dismissing such narrative homogeneity as a "natural" outcome or as a benign or even "positive" product of the smooth collaboration between interested parties, however, I contend that a more rigorous critical investigation is necessitated here. More specifically, I want to suggest that the production of narrative homogeneity between and across a network of organizational and governmental discourses may be at least in part the effect of ongoing neocolonial power relations and socio-economic asymmetries that influence and constrain the negotiations between interested parties in this case.

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[8] Many other mainstream news articles—including "Funeral, potlatch to honour" A5; "Ancient man uncovered"; "Historic remains return"; "Who's Buried"—express a similar sentiment regarding the exemplary model of co-operation represented by the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case. I discuss these in more detail later in the chapter.

An important dimension that must remain at the forefront of my critique of narrative homogeneity throughout this chapter is the fact that the policies and statements analyzed here are the products of agencies, institutions, and governments. Just as sound bites from B.C. officials or researchers are mediated expressions of institutional investments, so too are the statements offered by the CAFN part of an institutional discourse that is not reducible to some notion of the pure voice(s) of "the people." Rather than claiming to provide access to the heterogeneous voices and perspectives of Champagne and Aishihik First Nations members, I want to be explicit that the CAFN statements that are cited throughout the chapter are institutional utterances consciously formulated as part of a public discourse. As a result, certain forms of heterogeneity and contestation within the CAFN membership fail to be represented in this analysis. In many respects, this absence is indicative of a conscious decision on my part to not engage in a kind of investigative "fieldwork" that might treat First Peoples as native informants who could provide "insider" perspectives on aboriginal attitudes toward concepts such as ancestry, the treatment of the dead, or collaboration with dominant institutions. My intention in doing so is emphatically not to suggest that such beliefs do not exist or that they are inconsequential. Rather, my decision is based upon the recognition that such an anthropologistic turn risks reinscribing the neocolonial dichotomy between modern Euro-Canadian institutions and aboriginal "tradition" that focuses upon and often fetishizes facets of indigenous beliefs that may very well not be intended for discussion and consumption beyond the borders of the specific cultural community. In contrast, my method seeks to acknowledge the contemporaneity of First Nations governments and indigenous activist collectives and the institutional discourses they formulate explicitly as public statements.

On another level, the absence of aboriginal voices from the following analysis is also the result of material constraints surrounding the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case. Although I attempted to contact several Champagne and Aishihik staff members, my messages were all forwarded to and replied to by a singular institutional representative—a non-native anthropologist named Sheila Greer employed by the First Nations government. While acting as the spokesperson for the CAFN, Greer also frequently became the official mouthpiece for other institutions involved in the management of the corpse. Some of my emails to personnel at the Royal B.C. Museum and to researchers at the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria were also forwarded to Greer who wrote a general response to my questions on behalf of the parties. While this decision to speak through only one designated representative may be related to considerations of "workflow management," it also suggests a potential anxiety about keeping the dominant narrative of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi's study and reburial intact and preventing polyphonic articulation that could potentially destabilize its authoritative status. Although each of the governments and organizations involved in the management of the corpse have their own particular set of investments and motivations for complying with this hegemonic story, it seems that the shared interest somehow weighs in favour of maintaining the narrative of postcolonial collaboration that, I will argue, is integrally related to maintaining the neocolonial status quo in contemporary Canadian society.[9]

The CAFN's compliance with dominant discourses might be partially explained by an important condition inscribed in the "Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi Agreement." This document between the B.C. Archaeology Branch and the CAFN not only formulated the terms for the management of the remains but, also, established protocols for managing consensus in public discourse. Specifically, section 7e of the agreement stipulates that "[a]ll public statements will be mutually endorsed by the co-chairs" (2). In practice, "mutual endorsement" also led to repetition and recitation such that the chronologies and public statements published on both the B.C. government and CAFN websites often reiterated each other verbatim. The effects of such discursive sameness are important to investigate. Accordingly, throughout this chapter, I will consider the following questions: what is at stake in formulating an agreement between a neocolonial government and a First Nations group that forecloses upon the possibility of voicing dissent? What are the implications of both framing and interpreting the production of narrative homogeneity as a sign of "consensus"?

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[9] Many thanks to Heather Zwicker for prompting me to consider the specific dynamics of institutional discourses in more detail in this chapter.

Another form of narrative repetition surrounding the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case may be discerned in the mass media—wide circulation newspapers, magazines, and internet news sites operated by commercial powers. Due to the extensive reach of media monopolies such as CanWest and the Associated Press, the same news stories are carried by multiple newspapers across North America, their texts virtually unchanged. Often entire articles are republished under different headlines in various news sources, thereby reinforcing the same hegemonic narrative over and over under the guise of widespread media coverage. Beyond the recirculation of the same stories in multiple papers owned by the same media monopolies, however, an even more striking congruence may be discerned in the way that *different* monopolies produce almost identical narratives regarding the "B.C. Iceman." Such congruence may, in turn, be explained by Robert Stam and Ella Shohat's contention that, in our current era, the mass media operates as a political apparatus that "absorb[s] and retool[s] the same colonialist discourse that permeates such widely divergent fields as philosophy, literature, and history" (8). The discursive reiteration of such colonialist discourse in the form of journalistic coverage may therefore result in a hegemonic and also formulaic narrative of so-called postcolonial resolution.

At the same time that this chapter will analyze the narrative homogeneity between B.C. and CAFN government press releases, mainstream media coverage, and academic reports regarding the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case, it will also remain attentive to any potential discrepancies or differences between these texts. Moreover, this chapter will seek to re-articulate other crucial perspectives regarding repatriation and the study of aboriginal human remains to the hegemonic discursive formation that contours discussion of Long Ago Person Found. For example, the perspectives of specific non-profit agencies and indigenous peoples' coalitions seem especially germane to a consideration of the management of the frozen corpse—and yet, such actors have been excluded from mainstream media and governmental discussions. By placing the perspectives of such organizations in dialogue with the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case, therefore, I hope to challenge the reinvention of colonial discourse in our current era and the all too easy narrative framing of this case as an exemplary instance of *post*colonial closure.

Dr. Martha Black, Curator of Ethnology at the Royal British Columbia Museum, has argued that the retrieval, study, and reburial of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi cannot be discussed in relation to the category of "repatriation," as the body was never technically "de-patriated" from First Nations' jurisdiction to begin with (email correspondence). The logical extension of this argument is that repatriation is a limit that has already been exceeded, a moment of postcolonial reckoning that has already been surpassed. In response to this contention, I want to suggest that the very desire to exclude this term from the discussion of Long Ago Person Found points toward a more far-reaching attempt to mask the neocolonial power relations contouring this case. Moreover, such an argument hinges upon a teleology of progress that attempts to relegate the era of postcolonial resolution to the annals of history while celebrating the advent of a new era of supposed reconciliation and healing between First Nations and the state. Throughout this chapter, therefore, I will argue that rather than rendering the category of "repatriation" obsolete, the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case re-defines its boundaries via recourse to new tropes such as "cooperation" and "collaboration."

Aboriginality on Ice

The events of the B.C. Iceman's recovery and study, crucial to an examination of repatriation debates in our current era, likewise constitute an important example of how the semiotics of taxidermy continue to be recirculated today. While the complexities of the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case will be unravelled throughout the course of this chapter, I want to sketch out some of the most striking ways that Long Ago Person Found has been fetishized as a kind of "taxidermic" body of evidence. From the time of the corpse's discovery up to the present, mainstream media narratives, provincial government press releases, and scientific reports have celebrated the unique potential of frozen remains preserved with a significant portion of skin still attached. One of the first tests to be conducted on the remains was radiocarbon dating, which confirmed that the body was approximately 550 years old (Beattie et.al. 135).[10] Announced in a press release by the B.C. government on September 28, 1999 ("Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi" *CAFN Website*), the body was thereafter celebrated as "the oldest preserved human remains ever discovered in North America with flesh intact" ("Iceman Provides Clues" A4). Accordingly, the radiocarbon dating tests indicated that "the Kwaday Dän Sinchi [sic] person met his demise more than 50 years before Columbus was making his historic voyages to what was then considered by Europeans to be the New World—and over 300 years before the first known European contact on the Northwest Coast" ("New data indicates" *B.C. Govt.*

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[10] The C14 dating of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi was obtained from samples of two of the "artifacts" found near the body: namely, the woven hat and the fur garment (Beattie 135). These samples were tested at Beta Analytic Incorporated, an independent laboratory in Florida.

Website). Thus confirming scientists' belief that the corpse was "aboriginal," the B.C. Iceman soon became fetishized as a preserved specimen of pre-contact indigeneity—a kind of taxidermic body, frozen with its skin on, from an ostensibly lost native state of nature.

Public fascination with this frozen corpse is encapsulated in the headline of a *Toronto Star* article entitled "B.C. Iceman gets new life as science lab specimen—Scientists salivate at the research possibilities." Articulating the taxidermic concept of reincarnating death in "specimen" form, the *Star* headline also demonstrates that such scientific work is neither disinterested nor detached but, rather, fueled by subjective curiosity. Perhaps one of the strangest manifestations of the fetishistic interest in Long Ago Person Found is the way that media and scientific reports repeatedly extol the "excellent condition" of the remains (Beattie 142). Despite the fact that the corpse was missing a head and had been severed in half, Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi's remains are frequently referred to as a "well-preserved body" ("Ancient Man Uncovered") and "a particularly well-preserved set of human remains" ("Knowledge to Ashes" A14). Other articles comment that the Iceman's body is in "good shape" ("Lost Worlds Rediscovered") or in "good physical condition" ("DNA study seeks"), mobilizing tropes from current social discourses regarding health and fitness to describe a long-dead body. Such descriptors, I want to suggest, attempt to revivify the corpse as death preserved in the guise of liveness, as a kind of taxidermic exhibit—both dead and yet fascinatingly embalmed with certain signs of "vitality"—of an extinct pre-contact species.

Such fascination is even more explicitly pronounced in an article detailing the discovery of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi in the August 2002 edition of *Canadian Geographic*. Describing the corpse, Heather Pringle writes:

> His body had clearly taken a post-mortem battering. Severed in two by shifting ice, the unknown traveller had lost both his right arm and his head at some point, either to a rushing torrent of meltwater or to scavenging animals. Apart from these indignities, however, his remaining flesh was astonishingly well preserved. Goosebumps still dimpled his skin; thick strands of neatly cut black hair clung to nearby ice. Even the delicate nerve cells of the man's spinal cord appeared intact. ("Out of the Ice" 58)

At the same time that this article delights in re-imagining the "post-mortem [...] indignities" inflicted upon the remains, it also exhibits a macabre fascination with the body's "well preserved" state of death. In this flamboyant excerpt, there is one portion which reads as particularly over-the-top. Specifically, the clause noting that Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi's "remaining flesh" was so "astonishingly well preserved" that "goosebumps still dimpled his skin" resonates strikingly with taxidermy's fetishization of hollowed-out skins restructured according to the signs of "life." Not only do "goosebumps" generally signify a dynamic bodily response to a change in the environment, they also resonate in popular discourse as a corporeal sign of heightened awareness or arousal. In this context, I want to suggest that the *Canadian Geographic* article implicitly frames the B.C. Iceman as a particularly exciting and excitable kind of taxidermic specimen—a body titillated at the moment of death, frozen in the uncanny guise of aroused liveness.

While media emphasis upon the B.C. Iceman's preserved flesh frames the remains as a taxidermic spectacle in a relatively obvious way, the semiotics of taxidermy are also encoded in more subtle and complex terms. A compelling example concerns the temporal rhetoric mobilized in B.C. government press releases and journalistic reportage. When the remains were initially discovered, news headlines fueled popular excitement by suggesting that the Iceman was "at least hundreds of years old, maybe thousands" ("Hunters find frozen native man"). Announced on the CBC news website on August 21, 1999, the B.C. Iceman was labelled "an archaeological find of world significance" that "may be thousands of years old" ("Ancient human remains"). In an article published in the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the lead statement quoted B.C. archaeologist Al Mackie, remarking: "It's comparable to the Alps find" ("Ancient Man Uncovered"). While Mackie's assertion was intended to suggest that the "comparable" factor between the approximately 5000 year-old frozen body discovered in 1991 and Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi was "the condition" of preservation, the article misleadingly suggested that the two bodies were comparable in terms of age.[11]

While it is interesting to note how media reports fueled a chain reaction of misinformation regarding the age of Long Ago Person Found, there is a more complex representational problematic at stake here. Specifically, when the results of radiocarbon dating tests qualified media hype with the announcement that the body was approximately 550 years old, many of the key temporal adjectives used to describe the Iceman remained the same. In news articles written prior to the radiocarbon test results, the corpse was referred to as "prehistoric" ("Ice mummy investigation") and "ancient" ("Ancient human remains"; "Study begins on ancient remains"; "Kwaday Dan Sinchi,

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[11] Here, Mackie is referring to the discovery of "Otzi," a frozen body found in the Haubslabjoch glacier in the Italian Alps in 1991. The University of Innsbruck engaged in detailed studies of the body, which is now displayed in a museum in Bolzano, Italy (Beattie 133). An article posted on the BBC news website also asserted that "initial examinations of the remains say it is comparable to a 5,300 year old frozen hunter found in the Alps in 1991" ("Ice mummy investigation").

The Yukon Iceman"; "Ancient Man Uncovered"). Well after the results of radiocarbon dating tests, however, the mainstream media and the British Columbian government continued to recycle such temporal tropes, repeatedly labelling the remains as "ancient" ("The Iceman Cousin Cometh?"; "Funeral, potlatch to honour" A5; "DNA may unravel lineage of ancient Yukon man" A4, "Ancient remains of 550-year-old hunter"; "Introduction" *B.C. Govt. Website*). The implicit assumption behind such rhetoric suggests that if a body is from a "pre-contact" era, it is therefore also necessarily "ancient"—the difference between 550 or 5000 years seems insignificant since both dates precede Western influence. Time prior to the arrival of Europeans is therefore ostensibly timeless: homogeneous, static, and discrete from the chronology of progress that began with New World discovery and colonization. Such a manipulation of temporality is key to the workings of colonialist ideology in general and the semiotics of taxidermy in particular. Media discourses surrounding the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case reinscribe the semiotics of taxidermy by playing on the concept of being "frozen in time" ("A 550-year-old microbiology lesson" 678; "Latest estimates of hunter's age"; "B.C. Iceman gets new life"; "DNA may unravel lineage of ancient Yukon man" A4)—both literally in the sense of glacial preservation and figuratively in the sense of belonging to an ostensibly "frozen" or "static" realm of aboriginal "prehistory." In this way, news reports implicitly liken the B.C. Iceman to a taxidermic specimen—a strangely unnatural specimen of "nature," an uncanny corpse preserved in a state of arrested decay.

What is particularly striking about the case of Long Ago Person Found is that the fetishization of preserved skin articulated in the mass media and in scientific reports is crucially linked to a politics of time. While "skin" is the popular signifier for "soft tissue," "soft tissue" in turn is code in the scientific community for the best repository of DNA in human remains.[12] According to B.C. government press releases, a key research goal in the study of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi is to "reconstruct the man's DNA profile" ("Research Begins" *B.C. Govt. Website*) and, in so doing, to crack the genetic code of pre-contact indigeneity. "Skin"/"soft tissue," therefore, is the crucial matter through which scientists are able to phantasmatically travel back in time and "unlock the many mysteries" of "prehistoric" aboriginality ("B.C. Iceman gets new life"). Here, the trope of the "ancient" is reiterated again as the tests conducted on the remains classify his molecular codes in terms of "ancient DNA." Ancient DNA (aDNA) is a scientific term used to describe surviving DNA samples in dead organisms of a significant age. While there are no fixed temporal parameters for the category of aDNA, this term is most frequently used to describe the genetic material extracted from Neandertal fossils and other specimens at least thousands of years old.[13] While I will analyze the political stakes of the scientific research conducted on the B.C. Iceman's remains in greater detail later in this chapter, I want to underscore now that such studies hinge upon a principle of taxidermic reconstruction—the deployment of a dead body to imaginatively reconstruct past life forms that are now ostensibly extinct. What the B.C. government's press release makes clear, however, is that what researchers are seeking to reconstruct is not the origins of a universal humanity (a project with its own problems) but, rather, the supposed pastness of North American indigeneity.

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[12] While soft tissue—i.e. tendons, muscle, skin, etc.—provides the most readily extractable and useable DNA samples, recent scientific research has, in at least three cases, successfully extracted mitochondrial DNA from Neandertal fossils, approximately 30,000+ years old (Relethford 179). This mitochondrial DNA is stored in molecules found in the protein of bones. Such ancient DNA analysis has been "made possible by a laboratory method known as the polymerase chain reaction (PCR)" that duplicates and amplifies DNA samples (Relethford 178-179).

[13] In email message dated 19 April 2004, Dr.Victoria Monsalve, a Laboratory and Pathology Medicine researcher at the University of British Columbia, confirmed that there are no definitive temporal parameters for invoking the term "ancient DNA." That said, Monsalve suggests that "to be considered [...] ancient DNA the tissue must be more than one hundred fifty years old. There is not classification to define ancient DNA." Although the term aDNA is most frequently invoked in relation to significantly older remains than what Monsalve has suggested here, it is still interesting to note how such scientific terminology holds the potential to collapse the differences between 150 and 15000 years within the homogenizing category of the "ancient."

The logic of reconstruction encoded in the B.C. government's press releases resonates in uncanny ways with the logic that fueled the ethnographic filmmaking project of Edward Curtis. At this point, I want to recall a quotation cited in Chapter Two of this dissertation in order to demonstrate the resonances between Curtis' filmic reconstruction and the B.C. government's plan for genetic reconstruction regarding the Iceman's remains. Describing his goals for producing *In the Land of the Headhunters* to an official at the Smithsonian Institution, Edward Curtis asserted: "My effort would be to go back as close to the primal life as possible" (qtd. in Holm and Quimby 32), in order to reconstruct ostensibly extinct Kwakiutl lifeways for white national posterity. Articulating a similar perspective, Ian Waddell, B.C. Minister of Small Business, Tourism, and Culture, comments: "Along with allowing us a glimpse into the distant past, the legacy of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi will stretch far ahead into the future" ("Research Begins" *B.C. Govt. Website*). For Waddell and the B.C. government, therefore, the reconstruction of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi's "ancient DNA" holds the key to re-imagining the so-called "distant past"—the era prior to contact in the Canadian northwest. The question of what kind of "legacy" will "stretch far into the future," however, remains an ongoing concern.

Repatriation's Döppelganger: Kennewick "the Bad"/Kwäday "the Good"

In an effort to frame the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case as a model for "Indian-scientist co-operation" in our so-called postcolonial era, news reports frequently invoke the Kennewick Man case in the United States as an example of disputatious non-cooperation that "stands in sharp contrast" to the ostensibly peaceable agreement between the CAFN and the B.C. government ("Lost Worlds Rediscovered"). Repeatedly describing the Kennewick Man debate as a "battle" ("Iceman provides clues" A4; "Ancient Man Uncovered"), and a "feud" ("Lost Worlds Rediscovered"), media narratives position the Kennewick Man controversy as the döppelganger—the troublesome double—of the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi agreement. Reductively dichotomizing these two cases that test the limits of repatriation in our current era, journalistic reportage frames Kennewick Man as the sign of "conflict" and Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi as the sign of "resolution."

To interrogate the political stakes of the oppositional framing of these two cases, it is important to first briefly outline the discovery of Kennewick man. In July 1996, a skeleton was found on land held by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers on the banks of the Columbia River in Kennewick, Washington. When radiocarbon dating tests confirmed that the skeleton was approximately 9000 years old, the Army Corps claimed temporary custody and began to notify native groups in the region according to the provisions outlined in the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). According to this federal legislation passed in 1990, government agencies are compelled to contact Native American groups who might be affiliated with discovered human remains and related artifacts.[14] In an effort to comply with NAGPRA, the Army Corps agreed to repatriate the skeleton to a collective assembly of Native American groups, led by the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation (CTUIR), who claimed cultural affiliation with the body. Before repatriation could take place, however, eight physical anthropologists collectively filed suit in October 1996—in a case documented as *Bonnichsen et al. v. United States*—to halt the reburial and to seek an opportunity to study the skeleton more extensively.[15]

In support of their claim, the physical anthropologists argued that due to the age of the skeleton, the remains might not be eligible to qualify as "Native American" under the definition provided in NAGPRA. According to this legislation, the category "Native American" is outlined in the following terms: "of, or relating to, a tribe, people, or culture that is indigenous to the United States" (qtd. in Gerstenblith 170). In this vein, the scientists argued that the dictionary definition of "indigenous"—namely, "occurring or living naturally in an area; not introduced; native"—might not apply to Native Americans if it were "established that the precontact inhabitants of North America migrated from some other continent or even from some other part of the Americas not currently encompassed within the modern political boundaries of the United States" (Gerstenblith 171). While, according to this logic, the Bering Land Strait model would in itself constitute a challenge to Native Americans' claims to indigeneity, several anthropologists pushed the envelope further by asserting that recent research indicates an even greater population diversity among the continent's early inhabitants than the Bering Strait hypothesis can account for, thereby suggesting that Native Americans may not have been the only early migrants.[16] To substantiate their claims, the anthropologists cited "the power of morphometric analysis"—the measuring of skulls of different "populations" (read: "races")—and, specifically, the initial measurement of Kennewick Man's skull during the coroner's inquest by two physical anthropologists who argued that "the cranial features could not be biologically linked to existing tribal groups" (Owsley and Jantz 147, 142).[17]

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[14] According to American legal scholar Patty Gerstenblith, "NAGPRA represents an attempt to accommodate the competing interests of Native American tribes, scientists (both physical anthropologists and archaeologists), and museums. It focuses primarily on newly discovered materials and human remains and on remains and objects in federal agencies and those museums and universities that receive federal funding. NAGPRA provides immediate restitution of human remains and cultural objects found on federal or tribal lands after 16 November 1990 to lineal descendants or, where those descendants are unknown, to the tribe on whose lands the objects were discovered or with the tribe that 'has the closest cultural affiliation with such remains'" (169). There is currently no federal equivalent to NAGPRA in Canada, nor does it appear that the drafting of comparable legislation has been slated as a priority by the federal government.

[15] The five groups campaigning for the repatriation of Kennewick Man are the Umatilla of northeastern Oregon; the Yakamas, the Wapapum Band of Yakama, and the Colvilles of Washington; and the Nez Perce of Idaho (Owsley and Jantz 142). Douglas W. Owsley and Richard L. Jantz are two of the physical anthropologists involved in filing the *Bonnichsen et. al.* case. While it falls outside the parameters of this chapter to outline the long and complicated history of *Bonnichsen et al. v. United States* in the American court system, I do want to note that in August 2002, "U.S. Magistrate John Jelderks overturned the decision of the Department of the Interior [who stepped in to manage the case on behalf of the US Army Corps of Engineers] that the Kennewick Man bones are protected under [...] NAGPRA and must be returned to the tribes" (Gerstenblith 180). "Jelderks also ruled that the scientists will be allowed to study the skeleton" (Owsley and Jantz 159). In September 2003, however, the case was appealed to the U.S. 9th District Court of Appeals ("Kennewick Man decision").

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[16] The Bering Land Strait theory is currently widely accepted by anthropologists and archaeologists. This theory suggests that "the first Americans crossed the Bering Strait land bridge connecting Siberia to North America during the terminal Wisconsinian Ice Age some 11,500 years ago" (Owsley and Jantz 146). These early migrants have been designated as "Paleo-Indian" and are thought to have been biologically related to northeast Asians and "Mongoloid" peoples (Owsley and Jantz 146). While the scientific community has been largely in agreement with this theory and the First Peoples Hall at the National Museum of Civilization in Canada portrays the Bering Strait theory as uncontested fact, the hypothesis has been disputed by many different aboriginal writers, intellectuals, and organizations. For further reading, see Vine Deloria's discussion in chapter four of *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact*.

[17] According to Owsley and Jantz, morphometric analysis "uses statistical methods to compare the metric data of a fossil to samples representing recent Native American Groups and other world populations. It addresses the question of whether the fossil falls within the range of variation of recent populations and, if so, to which group it is most similar. The reference database for this research consists of cranial measurements compiled by William Howells and Richard Jantz for thirty-three world populations, including nine Native American groups from western North America" (147).

At stake in the arguments outlined by the anthropologists of *Bonnichsen et. al.* are a set of troubling ideological and political investments. Firstly, the idea of contesting Native Americans' status as "Native" or "indigenous" via recourse to anthropological hypotheses regarding the "origins" of humans over 9000 years ago constitutes yet another complex manipulation of temporality by a colonialist discipline. In order to blur the incontrovertible fact that aboriginal peoples inhabited the North American continent for (at the very least) a substantial period of time before European exploration—thereby affording them an iron-clad prior claim to the land—the anthropologists have attempted to re-frame temporality on a staggeringly retrospective scale that diminishes the proportion of aboriginal peoples' claims. More specifically, Bonnichsen and company have attempted to effectively "shrink" the history of aboriginal inhabitation of the continent by measuring time in millennia rather than decades and centuries so as to supplant the concept of native origins with an ostensibly prior narrative of *primordial origins* regarding the evolutionary ancestors of modern *homo sapiens*. Distinct from the typical colonial chrono-logics of progress—the movement toward a future of Western (read: Euro-American, white, and/or neocolonial) triumph—this anthropological strategy reconceptualizes temporality in terms of an infinite regress, a sublime articulated past that subdivides the category of "prehistory" into at least two orders. More specifically, such a tactic moves ambitiously backwards in time to an era prior to native "prehistory": namely, a primordial epoch of early human evolution. By retreating so far backwards in time, this anthropological discourse prioritizes a primordial category of "prehistory" in which Native Americans' or First Nations' continental indigeneity cannot be definitively "proven." Although the retreat into time's infinite pastness seems to contradict the forward-looking teleology of Western progress, such a tension is immensely productive for white interests. In this way, aboriginal peoples are confined within further temporal parameters: not only are they barred from entry into the time of the Western present and future, their pastness is also circumscribed, limiting their continental origins to a secondary order of "prehistory" that is only said to begin after the formation of the Bering Strait land bridge. By setting temporal limits upon native pastness, therefore, such anthropological discourses seek to deny the cultural and political claims of many First Peoples who argue that their inhabitation of North America has endured since "time immemorial."[18]

Bonnichsen and company's emphasis upon morphometric analysis seems not far off from the dubious pseudo-science of craniometry that fueled the taxonomization and hierarchization of "races" in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As an apologia for their work, the Bonnichsen anthropologists might attempt to differentiate their studies from those of the past by arguing that morphometric analysis does not associate skull measurements with intellectual or moral attributes. That said, morphometric techniques dangerously seek to re-legitimize the "science" of racial categorization—the work of deploying biological criteria to taxonomize humans—that lends itself quite easily to the perpetuation of race-based discrimination and neocolonial injustices. During the coroner's initial examination of Kennewick Man, a local archaeologist named James Chatters noted that the skull appeared to be "Caucasoid"—typified by what Owsley and Jantz have described as "European-like [...] craniofacial features unlike those characteristic of Native Americans" (141). Seizing upon the term "Caucasoid," the mainstream press fueled speculation as to whether a "European-derived racial or ethnic group may have occupied North America as precursors to or in the place of the ancestors of modern Native Americans" (Gerstenblith 181). While Chatters' initial assessment has since been complicated by many researchers, Owsley and Jantz continue to recite his observation of the skeleton's "Caucasoid" features and their supposed difference from modern Native Americans.[19] Moreover, Owsley and Jantz's emphasis upon morphometric analysis lends further credence to the classification of "populations" according to cranial measurements. As a result, the arguments mounted by these anthropologists hold the dangerous potential to reinforce popular hype about Kennewick Man's status as a possible "white" predecessor of America—hype that encodes a powerful racist fantasy regarding the erasure of Native American indigeneity and the superimposition of a new mythology about the white origins of the nation.[20]

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[18] Such is precisely what the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation prominently assert on the homepage of their website, decisively contesting the hypotheses of the Bonnichsen physical anthropologists by affirming that "[s]ince time immemorial, we have lived on the Columbia River Plateau."

While more could be said about the arguments expounded by *Bonnichsen et. al.*, the purpose of my investigation is, rather, to read how the Kennewick Man and Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi cases are played off each other in the mass media. In order to dichotomize the two cases, the nuances of each are suppressed and the point of differentiation is reduced to whether or not "scientific study" of the remains was able to proceed—the supposedly crucial factor for determining repatriation's "success." Bound up in this differentiation is the stereotypical categorization of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation as ignorantly resistant to science and the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations as assimilable and acquiescent to dominant research agendas. By juxtaposing a "negative" (read: Kennewick) repatriation dispute where the interests of science are denied against a "positive" (read: Kwäday) model where science is prioritized, media reports effectively produce a kind of knowledge regarding what "peace" and "cooperation" look like. From this perspective, peace is about the maintenance of white power and its armature of anthropological, archaeological, and biological inquiry under the guise of so-called postcolonial beneficence. In turn, cooperation is about the protection of white investments under the semblance of compromise with indigenous "tradition."

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[19] According to Patty Gerstenblith, the term "Caucasoid" is a nineteenth-century anthropological category that refers to a "skeletal type, not an ethnic identification" and, thus, does not mean the same thing as "Caucasian" (181). Owsley and Jantz, however, do not seem to recognize the differentiation between terms that Gerstenblith is attempting to make insofar as they suggest that Chatters' report—and his use of the category "Caucasoid"—indicated that the skeleton was "European-like." Either Owsley and Jantz disagree with Gerstenblith's categorical differentiation on an intellectual level or their repetition of Chatters' hypothesis constitutes an attempt to perpetuate public misinformation.

[20] In response to the Bonnichsen physical anthropologists' morphometric analysis, Gary White Deer, President of Keepers of the Treasures (a tribal preservation program affiliated with the National Park Service), has remarked: "Where are we going, generally speaking, with all these craniometrics-based assumptions about Kennewick Man? Whether or not the Kennewick skeleton is truly Caucasoid is a moot point. It would be an argument from ignorance to suggest that simply because no known data exists to directly connect this skeleton to Native America that there is, in fact, no direct connection" ("Kennewick Man Virtual Exhibit" *Burke Museum Website*).

In mass media coverage of the "battle" for Kennewick Man, a complex network of debates and actors is oversimplified in the form of a binary opposition: unbending native "tradition" versus enlightened "science" ("Iceman provides clues"). This rigid division reinscribes the allochronism of colonial discourse by attempting to relegate indigenous cultures to a discrete temporal realm of "tradition," a static state of pastness cut off from the world of scientific investigation and progress. Such a stereotypical characterization of the CTUIR as ignorant of and categorically opposed to scientific investigation accordingly denies the hybridity and heterogeneity of indigenous groups in the current era. A visit to the CTUIR website quickly challenges such reductive assumptions. While it is quite possible that some individual members may not be in favour of archaeological or scientific research, the CTUIR government has, since the early 1990s, established an innovative Cultural Resources Protection Program (CRPP) that strategically complements the group's own investments and cultural beliefs. For example, the CRPP is based on a principle that ensures protection of both environmental and cultural resources simultaneously. In this vein, the CTUIR asserts that "cultural resources include air, land and water (and all things in and on them) in addition to that part of [...] cultural heritage that is reflected in village and camp sites, hunting and fishing stations, root and berry gathering areas, ceremonial places, [and] burial grounds" (*CTUIR Website*). The CRPP has also been used to provide employment for tribal members and to reverse entrenched employer/employee hierarchies by contracting work from the National Parks Service and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to participate in the tribal government's own research projects. Moreover, the CRPP "keep[s] an eye on federal and state agencies to keep them in compliance with various laws" and works with law enforcement officers to protect heritage sites both on the reservation and throughout the surrounding environs (*CTUIR Website*). In this way, the CTUIR's Cultural Resource Protection Program operates as a savvy institutional organization that strategically negotiates relationships with state agencies and police in ways that benefit the group's own interests in protecting their land and heritage sites.[21] Articulating the CTUIR's resistance to the Bonnichsen bid for Kennewick Man in a way that demonstrates a commitment to indigenous agency in cultural heritage research, Jeff Van Pelt, an Umatilla member and Cultural Resources Director for the CTUIR, comments: "We're not anti-science. We just want a say in what happens to our ancestors" ("Kennewick Man Virtual Exhibit" *Burke Museum Website*).

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[21] For further information on the CTUIR's Cultural Resource Protection Program, please refer to: http://www.umatilla.nsn.us/crpp/information.htm

In contrast to media portrayals of the CTUIR's fight for the repatriation of Kennewick man, the CAFN members involved in the decision-making processes regarding Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi are depicted in the media as "favor[ing] scientific study of the remains and artifacts" ("Ancient Man Uncovered"). In an article published in *Archaeology Online*, Paige MacFarlane, Media Relations Manager for the B.C. Ministry of Small Business, Tourism, and Culture, is quoted as saying: "We are lucky in that we have had a long-standing tradition of cooperation between archaeologists in the Yukon and British Columbia and Elders of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations. Because of this relationship, we have been permitted to go ahead with an in-depth analysis of the remains" ("Who's Buried"). Implicit in the media's repeated recitation of the "tradition of cooperation" between the CAFN and archaeologists, however, is the suggestion that two distinct "camps" have, from their different perspectives, sought to negotiate a compromise. Here, the mainstream press tacitly frames the CAFN's approach to scientific research not as informed and active collaboration but, rather, as a passive form of acquiescence that allows the B.C. government, in undertaking "an in-depth analysis of the remains," to proceed with this research on their own terms ("Who's Buried").

This rhetorical separation between the roles of the CAFN and the B.C. government in the supervision of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi are further entrenched in the material power imbalances inscribed in the Management Agreement. While this document has been celebrated as a blueprint for the purportedly "cooperative management" of aboriginal remains, its division of responsibilities effectively skewed jurisdiction toward the B.C. government. Specifically, the B.C. Archaeology Branch and the Royal B.C. Museum were accorded "responsibility for coordinating the research on the human remains"—the high profile work—while the CAFN was appointed caretaker of the small collection of artifacts found near the corpse (Beattie 133). In practice, these asymmetries were exacerbated further as the bulk of the artifacts appointed to the CAFN were actually stored at and co-managed by the Yukon government's Heritage Branch while the fur garment was transferred to the RBCM. To justify the uneven supervision of the discovery, the B.C. and Yukon governments asserted that they had the facilities and expertise necessary for so-called proper preservation. Such an argument, however, hinges upon the classification of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi's body as a specimen—an object of scientific study that must be preserved and protected in the interests of anthropological, archaeological, and genetic knowledge.[22]

The case of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi further demonstrates that the power to preserve is intimately bound up with the power to represent. As the custodian of the body, the RBCM quickly appointed itself the research "hub" and the public mouthpiece for disseminating information about the body. The RBCM also used its authority over the management of the remains to stage a public display of the Iceman's fur robe and related artifacts. In February 2003, long after Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi was supposedly "laid to rest," the museum held a weekend exhibition of these items which, to state the obvious, were not buried with the body. Commenting on the display, the Vancouver edition of

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[22] My concerns regarding the imbalances in power between the B.C. government and the CAFN, as discussed in this section, are in no way meant to diminish the significant ways that the CAFN responded to the discovery and exercised their own agency in the face of persistent neocolonial asymmetries. One example of the CAFN's exercise of agency concerns their cedar hat project. Led by Delores Churchill, an expert weaver at the University of Alaska Southeast, First Nations members engaged in a study of the hat found near Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi's body and produced replicas of it, thereby engaging in conservation and study techniques while simultaneously providing an opportunity to revivify interest in the art of weaving amongst community members (Pringle 59). As for the B.C. government and its agencies, the opportunity to store the remains has afforded the RBCM and associated scientific researchers the opportunity to write about sophisticated conservation techniques that have gained increased interest in the scientific community since the discovery of Otzi in 1991.

CBC Online quoted the CAFN's Heritage Resource Officer, Diane Strand, as saying: "The robe is on loan right now. I haven't seen it for well over a year now" ("Ancient fur coat"). Thus, although the original management agreement accorded the CAFN responsibility for the artifacts, the RBCM in practice assumed a much wider jurisdiction over the discovery, including the power to display Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi's personal effects for public viewing.[23]

While news reports and B.C. government press releases deploy the tropes of "collaboration" and "cooperation" in ways that dissimulate the reinscription of neocolonial power asymmetries in the management of Long Ago Person Found, these reports also work to frequently undermine the active leadership role assumed by the CAFN in several research initiatives. Much like the CTUIR, the CAFN government has had a formal heritage program for over a decade. Moreover, in 1997, the group became a major contributor to the "Ice Patch" research program that seeks to recover artifacts and biological specimens preserved in glacial snow for thousands of years. The ice patch research program involves many governmental and university-based researchers as well as members of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, the Carcross-Tagish First Nations, the Kluane First Nation, and the Kwanlin Dün First Nation. This coalition of aboriginal peoples has organized its own field crews for community members and students to participate in research and to combine oral history projects with archaeological methods of study. Collectively, these First Nations also publish regular editions of the *Ice Patch Newsletter* that reports their work to the community and beyond. While individual members might disagree with such research, the CAFN, as a governmental institution, has developed and publicized its expertise in the fields of archaeological and anthropological research as a way to learn more about the history of its traditional territory and to complement long-standing practices of oral history. Although the media might fail to recognize the CAFN's active research programs, Sheila Greer, the anthropologist hired by the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, argues that the group's experience with archaeological study was a major factor in enabling the CAFN to assert their rights to Long Ago Person Found and to negotiate for their participation in the management of the body along with the B.C. government. [24]

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[23] Grant Hughes, Director of the Curatorial Services Branch of the Royal British Columbia Museum, has noted that the RBCM "obtained permission to display the robe from the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations and their representatives [came to the museum…] and participated in the event" (email correspondence). In the "Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi Management Agreement," section 10 states that "[a]ny economic or scientific benefits or other considerations will be shared between the Parties in any matters negotiated by the Management Group" (2). Based on the terms of this agreement, I asked Mr. Hughes if the CAFN received any part of the proceeds from the admission prices to attend the exhibition. In response, Mr. Hughes stated: "the costs of the event and the proceeds were part of the budgeting for the Royal British Columbia Museum. There was no funding—no 'proceeds'—shared with the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations. The reality is that our research and education mandate does not generate revenue for the Royal British Columbia Museum and this is also the case with Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi" (email correspondence). Whether or not section 10 of the "Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi Management Agreement" would apply to such an exhibition is left ambiguous by the wording of the agreement and by the institutional workings and material practicalities of the "mandate" described by Mr. Hughes. Regarding my inquiry as to whether the CAFN has yet displayed the fur robe in their own communities (a desire suggested in the CBC news article), Mr. Hughes commented: "the robe has not been requested by the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations for loan/display in their communities" (email correspondence).

At the same time that I want to acknowledge the CAFN and CTUIR's own cultural resource programs and research, I also feel cautious about the ways such a recognition might be co-opted by neocolonial discourses of progress that interpret First Nations' use of scientific research techniques as a validation of the superiority of archaeological and anthropological information over alternative forms of knowledge such as oral history. Moreover, in response to Greer's comment that the CAFN's established archaeological programs contributed substantially to the BC government's recognition of their agency, I feel it is important to ask the following questions: Why should a First Nation's legitimacy as an actor in repatriation cases be contingent upon the demonstration of an awareness of dominant archaeological and anthropological paradigms? Why should the CAFN's rights to an aboriginal body discovered on their traditional territory hinge upon the acceptance of particular forms of research? Why should such rights be conditional upon the stipulations or even the perceptions of dominant neocolonial governmental and research institutions?[25]

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[24] This information was provided in a personal interview with Sheila Greer on 12 January 2004.

These questions point to the influence of white assimilationist interests upon repatriation negotiations in our current era. To make the recognition of aboriginal constituencies contingent upon compliance with certain scientific paradigms is to reinforce the dominance of these disciplines and to deploy them as tools of assimilation. In particular, the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case demonstrates how the tropes of "cooperation" and "collaboration" serve to veil the work of assimilation while also prescribing limits to aboriginal participation in the dominant systems of white culture. Specifically, the mainstream media's inattention to the CAFN's theoretical and practical knowledge in the field of archaeological research is a compelling example of the way that neocolonial institutions strategically attempt to produce "cooperative" native subjects while simultaneously maintaining the distance and difference between the white self and the aboriginal other. In this context, the tropes of "cooperation" and "collaboration" contouring the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case are freighted with complex investments regarding the maintenance of neocolonial power structures within an era of so-called postcolonial reconciliation.

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[25] I have formulated these questions in such terms so as to not presume the superiority of one episteme over another (i.e "scientific knowledge" versus "indigenous knowledge"). As should already be clear, I oppose the bifurcation of knowledge at stake in such a dichotomization of epistemes as well as the assumption that these two systems of knowledge or ways of knowing are static, unchanging, and clearly separable from each other. One can be "between" epistemes, so to speak, and still grasp the implications of these questions for challenging the power asymmetries currently contouring repatriation debates as well as other forms of negotiations between research institutions and First Peoples.

The relatively brief examination I have undertaken here demonstrates that, contrary to the media's sharp juxtaposition between the Kennewick Man and Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi cases, these two sets of events and their mainstream narrativizations have significant points in common. Both cases reveal—in distinct and yet crucially inter-related ways—the persistence of neocolonial discourse and the social injustices it seeks to rationalize. To frame the Kennewick Man case as the troublesome double against which the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi matter reads as "harmonious resolution" is, therefore, to gloss over the many ways that both cases raise concerns about the treatment and study of aboriginal remains in our current era.[26] Moreover, to reduce these two cases to the caricatured opposition of the CTUIR's "resistance" to and the CAFN's so-called "acceptance" of scientific research is to foreclose upon a more careful interrogation of the strategically homogenized category of "scientific research" itself. Rather than stopping the debate at whether or not scientific investigation should be allowed in repatriation cases, it is important to ask: What are the particular tests at stake? Why is scientific examination of discovered aboriginal remains often presented as an "all or nothing" decision where either all forms of testing are allowed or all are denied? What troubling implications of particular tests might be strategically occluded by presenting scientific research as a monolithic category? These are some of the questions to which I will now turn my attention.

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[26] Another valence potentially involved in the oppositional framing of the Kennewick Man and Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi cases is nationalist discourse. Framing Canada as the site where a model for cooperation between First Peoples and the state is worked out vis-à-vis the management of aboriginal remains may reinforce stereotypes of Canada as a peace-making, peace-loving nation. Indeed, this could well be part of the motivation for many Canadian newspapers to invoke the Kennewick Man case as a contrasting example of disputatious non-cooperation. Nationalist investments, however, cannot fully account for the insistent repetition of the juxtaposition between Kennewick Man and Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi, as some of the newspapers that hail the matter of Long Ago Person Found as a model for collaboration are actually American or part of the American Associated Press monopoly.

Genetic Reconstruction

While the mainstream media has attempted to frame the reburial of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi in July 2001 as a profound moment of closure for the case, scientific testing on the corpse's remains and related artifacts continues to this day. If Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi was once in "limbo because of the glacier," I contend that this corpse is now *in circulation*, since fragments of the remains are currently dispersed amongst scientific laboratories across the world ("B.C. Iceman gets new life"). While it might be argued that these "samples" or "specimens" are only minute fractions of a corpse that has been buried, the implications of their ongoing use in particular scientific inquiries are substantial. As a result, I want to challenge the discourse of closure surrounding the case of the B.C. Iceman by foregrounding the ideological and political stakes involved in the study of aboriginal remains.[27]

Soon after the corpse was recovered from the glacier and the initial radiocarbon dating tests were performed, the joint management committee decided to solicit research proposals from scholars at major institutions in Canada and abroad. Once again, the CAFN was assigned the task of "coordinating studies of the artifacts and other aspects that involve cultural knowledge and interpretation" while the "archaeology branch and experts at the Royal British Columbia Museum" were accorded responsibility for "co-ordinating research into the human remains" ("Researchers Provide Update" *B.C. Govt. Website*). A total of 17 proposals from scientists in England, Australia, the United States, Scotland, and Canada were received and reviewed by the management committee. The projects involved a variety of research fields, including "artifact studies, ethnohistory, conservation, radiocarbon dating, DNA studies, physical anthropology, trace element analysis, pathology, microbiology, botany, [and] zoology" ("Researchers Provide Update" *B.C. Govt. Website*). Many proposals sought to address questions regarding the man's diet, environment, and cause of death, as well as other ecological and biological issues regarding animal and botanical life in northern British Columbia and the Yukon over five centuries ago ("Researchers Provide Update" *B.C. Govt. Website*).

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[27] Samples of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi's soft tissue, hair, and bone were taken during the official autopsy on the body and later given to the researchers whose proposals were accepted. Some samples are still held at the RBCM. While there is a general understanding amongst scientists that most of the samples will be used up or destroyed in the process of testing, there is no fixed time frame for returning the samples. According to an email from Sheila Greer "no materials have been returned to the CAFN, nor has the First Nation requested the return of any material" (email 17 February 2004).

Arguably the "flagship" research project regarding the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi remains is the reconstruction of the body's DNA "profile" and the subsequent comparison of this data "with what is already known about North American indigenous peoples" ("Research Begins" *B.C. Govt. Website*). One of the lead researchers for this investigation is Dr. Maria Victoria Monsalve, a faculty member of the Department of Pathology and Laboratory Medicine at the University of British Columbia. Dr. Monsalve's initial findings have recently been published in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*. In her article, "Molecular Analysis of the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi Ancient Remains Found in a Glacier in Canada," Monsalve outlines her research trajectory as an attempt to extract mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) from the corpse and to compare its sequencing with database information on the sequencing of DNA in current populations across the globe.[28] According to Monsalve, "[r]estriction enzyme analysis of mitochondrial DNA […] determined that the remains belong to haplogroup A, one of the four major Native American mtDNA haplogroups" (288). A "haplogroup" is an identifiable set of markers stored in the mitochondrial DNA that can ostensibly be "mapped" and used by genetic researchers to distinguish different populations.[29] Asserting her faith in a logic of taxonomy she presents as absolute, Monsalve states that "[a]ll North American Natives have been categorized as belonging to mtDNA haplogroups A, B, C, or D […] or X" (290). Haplogroup A, however, "is found in the highest frequencies in the Dogrib Continental Na-Dene […] and in the Haida from the Queen Charlotte Islands […]; both groups are inhabitants of the Northwest Pacific coast" (290). Based on these findings, the article concludes that the "presence of haplogroup A in the KDT [Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi] remains suggests that he is one of the descendants of the first inhabitants who arrived from Asia" across the Bering Strait Land Bridge (290) and that he is likely connected "to modern populations" in the Northwest region in which his body was discovered (291).

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[28] According Dr. John Relethford, the "human genome is made up of nuclear DNA and a small amount of DNA that is found within the mitochondria, organelles within the cell responsible for energy production" (19). Moreover, the "human mitochondrial genome is only about 0.0005% the size of the nuclear genome but has several interesting properties that make it particularly useful for assessing population history. Mitochondrial DNA is maternally inheritied; your mitochondrial DNA came from your mother, but not your father, unlike nuclear DNA, which is inherited from both parents. Because of inheritance from a single parent there is no recombination and analysis of ancestral connections is made easier" (19). Although this summary could lead people to believe that a person inherits the exact same mtDNA as their mother, their grandmother, their great-grandmother, etc., this is not the case. Scientists believe that variation in mtDNA occurs through the accumulation of mutations over time (Relethford 72).

[29] According to the GeneTree DNA Testing Corporation (a private company with a vested interest in presenting its genetic tests as conclusive evidence), "[n]early 100% of Native American peoples can be classified into one of these 5 mtDNA haplogroups. These haplogroups are nearly exclusive to Native American people, and specific subtypes of these haplogroups are found at very low frequencies outside this population" ("Native American DNA Testing" *GeneTree Website*). GeneTree defines these five mtDNA Haplogroups as follows: "(1.) Haplogroup A […] is highest in frequency in the Arctic/Subarctic of North America and nearly absent in non-Athapaskan-speaking folk in the Southwest; (2.) Haplogroup B is in highest frequency in the Southwest of North America; (3.) Haplogroup C is highest in frequency in Eastern North America; (4.) Haplogroup D is highest in frequency in populations from Western North America; (5.) Haplogroup X is highest in Algonquian speaking populations of the Great Lakes Region" ("Native American DNA Testing" *GeneTree Website*).

While Monsalve's article fails to problematize its own genetic taxonomies, the Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism (or IPCB)—a non-profit organization committed to "assist[ing] indigenous peoples in the protection of their genetic resources, indigenous knowledge, and cultural and human rights"—has rigorously called into question the validity of genetic tests that seek to definitively determine "native identity" (*IPCB Website*). The IPCB contends that "to make a genetic test the arbiter of whether someone is Native American or not is to give up [the] tribal sovereign ability to determine membership and relations" ("Genetic 'Markers'" 3). Moreover, such tests are predicated upon a kind of "genetic essentialism" that reduces the matter of being "aboriginal" to molecular structures, thereby excluding important social and historical factors for identity formation (Nelkin and Lindee 2). Such genetic essentialism enables science to control "difference," to define it in a supposedly objective and evidentiary fashion, and thus to claim the authority to name and taxonomize it. Such abilities have constituted and continue to constitute key elements of colonial power.[30]

At the level of so-called scientific rationality, the genetic tests for aboriginal identity turn on a number of problematic assumptions about genetic inheritance. Scientists have identified certain "variations" or "markers" in human genes that they

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[30] In their article entitled "Genetic 'Markers'—Not a Valid Test of Native Identity," the IPCB recognizes how such studies have become crucial to the legal logistics of repatriation cases in the United States, due to NAGPRA's problematic definitions of "Native American" and "indigenous" peoples. To fill the holes left by NAGPRA's shortcomings, the courts have come to privilege the scientific testing of found human remains for genetic markers of "native" identity as a crucial and authoritative form of "evidence." The IPCB article notes that in "the notorious case of 'Kennewick Man,' geneticists were charged with the impossible task of identifying him racially and tribally, and were of course unsuccessful, in spite of having destroyed some of the remains to do the tests" (1).

"believe all 'original' aboriginal people in North America carried" ("Genetic 'Markers'" 1). What is important to note, however, is that "none of these markers [are…] exclusive" to native North American populations; "all can be found in other populations around the world," just with less frequency ("Genetic 'Markers' 1). There are two main types of tests that are performed for identifying "native" genetic markers: mtDNA analysis and Y-chromosome analysis. Because mitochondrial DNA is only inherited from the maternal line, this test will not take into account ancestors from the paternal line. Thus, as the IPCB explains it, "if all your other great grandparents were Native American, and your mother's mother's mother was non-Indian, then you will not likely have one of the 'Native American' mtDNA haplotypes" ("Genetic 'Markers' 2). While mtDNA analysis can be performed on both men and women, Y-chromosome analysis is only applicable for male subjects. Here again, the test only traces one line of ancestry—namely, the paternal one. As a result, "if a man has 15 Native American great-great-grandparents, but his father's father's father was non-Indian, that person will not appear Native American under this test. So, almost 94% of that person's genetic inheritance may be from Native Americans, but under this test he may be identified as 'non-Indian'" ("Genetic 'Markers'" 2).

The problems flagged by the IPCB are corroborated by the rhetoric deployed by GeneTree, a private research company that offers "Native American DNA Verification Testing" for $245.00 to $450.00 US per test. On their website, the company explains: "Genetic Studies conducted on full-blooded indigenous populations […have] identified a limited number of shared genetic markers [….] There are 2 types of inheritance pattern categories that these markers follow, either a **directly** paternal linkage […] or a **directly** maternal linkage" [GeneTree's emphasis]. The implicit caveat in GeneTree's promotional discourse hinges upon the word "directly": if one ancestor in the chain of lineage is non-aboriginal, the DNA test will not identify a person as being of "native" identity. As a result, such tests only recognize "full-blooded" aboriginals—a trope recalling colonialism's fascination with and fear of its racial others. In this sense, genetic testing for "Native American" identity hinges upon a principle of racial purity—one that demonstrates a persistent obsession with supposedly uncontaminated aboriginality that has been preserved without the taint of miscegenation.[31]

On a broader level, by analyzing Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi in terms of haplogroup categories for Native American identity, scientific research on the remains reinforces the power of dominant Western institutions to map and classify aboriginality. Fueling the engines of taxonomy with further data, Monsalve notes at the end of her essay that the mtDNA "sequence reported in this paper has been deposited in the GenBank database (accession no. AF 502945)" (289). The GenBank database is the (American) National Institutes of Health (NIH) genetic sequence database, "an annotated collection of all publicly available DNA sequences" linked to other databanks in Japan and Europe

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[31] Although it might be tempting to frame the genetic investigations in the case of Long Ago Person Found as a rare form of scientific inquiry reserved for found human remains, the implications of "Native American DNA Verification" testing have already become much more widespread. For example, in 2003 the state of Vermont passed legislation "to sanction 'DNA Certification' of its mixed-blood Native population" in order to decide who may qualify for "American Indian" or "Native American" status (Guerrero 172-173). Indigenous scholar M.A. Jaimes Guerrero compellingly argues that such a "racialized mind-set has its roots in 'blood quantum' criteria established by the U.S. federal government since the mid-1800s to determine a policy of 'federal Indian identification' for trial and Indian 'benefits'" (174). The rise of genetic testing to determine "group" (read: "race") identity, therefore, is already beginning to influence state policy toward indigenous peoples and to extend "the legacy of conquest and colonialism in the United States" via "a new strain of eugenics" disguised as ostensibly objective, irrefutable DNA research (Guerrero 171). A more detailed discussion of the political implications of genetic research on indigenous peoples will follow in the next section of this chapter.

("GenBank Overview" *National Center for Biotechnology Information Website*).[32] More importantly, the GenBank database is a central information bank for the American branch of the Human Genome Project. As a result, when Dr. Monsalve deposited the Iceman's mtDNA sequence in this database, the corpse was, in many senses, preserved for global perpetuity as a publicly disseminated chemical code of pre-contact indigeneity.

Building upon Monsalve's research, Dr. David Levin at the University of Victoria initiated a research study to more specifically link Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi to current indigenous populations in the Pacific Northwest. The "Search for Living Relatives" study hinged upon the collecting and testing of blood samples from various First Nations and Native American groups in British Columbia, the Yukon, and Alaska followed by the comparison of these samples with the DNA extracted from Long Ago Person Found. Several news stories publicizing this research project have focused upon the collection of blood at the Sealaska Heritage Institute—a "regional Native nonprofit organization founded for the Tlingit, Haida and Tsimshian people of Southeast Alaska" (*Sealaska Heritage Website*). An article published in the *Juneau Empire*, but also re-posted on the Sealaska website, describes the plan to collect samples from present-day indigenous peoples in the following terms: "The First Nations group [namely, the CAFN] decided to take DNA samples from present day Tlingit and Athabascan Tutshone people in Canada. In Alaska, the group is also testing DNA of people with ancestors from Yakutat, Klukwan and Haines" ("Giving blood"; "DNA study will try to link" A8, "Iceman Cousin Cometh?"). Summing up the process, Chuck Smythe, a non-native ethnologist with the Sealaska Institute, is repeatedly cited as remarking: "People are very interested to find out, if it's possible, which communities he may be connected to" ("DNA study will try to link" A8; "Iceman Cousin Cometh?").

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[32] More precisely, the GenBank database is "part of the International Nucleotide Sequence Database Collaboration, which comprises the DNA DataBank of Japan (DDBJ), the European Molecular Biology Laboratory (EMBL), and GenBank at NCBI. These three organizations exchange data on a daily basis" ("GenBank Overview" *NCBI Website*).

The dominant narrative expounded in media coverage of the "Search for Living Relatives" study is one of harmonious collaboration between aboriginal groups and the world of "science." Putting a positive spin on the blood collection study and erasing the power asymmetries contouring it, the *Juneau Empire* article cited above foregrounds the CAFN's agency in "decid[ing] to take DNA samples" while overwriting the matter of the project's control by Dr. Levin and the University of Victoria.[33] Moreover, such media narratives overwrite the heterogeneity of perspectives within and amongst native communities—including the important voices of cautious questioning and dissent—regarding the scientific testing of biological material. The only news report I was able to find that mentioned any differences in opinion within aboriginal groups was an article published in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* in June 2002.[34] Discussing the collection of blood samples, the article suggests that "many people are reluctant to participate in the study" ("DNA may unravel" A4), reinforcing this argument by quoting Lawrence Joe, Director of Heritage, Land, and Resources for the CAFN. Specifically, Joe comments: "There are many cultural beliefs about blood [....] There are concerns and beliefs about hair. There are very strong beliefs on how you handle the dead" ("DNA may unravel" A4). Anthropologist Sheila Greer has also commented that, after the initial decision to retrieve the body was made and the issue of scientific testing on the remains was raised, there were "differences of opinion" within the CAFN's 1200 membership. It is precisely such "differences" that are occluded in the dominant narratives of collaboration and progress that frame this case.[35]

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[33] One complex issue that I want to make note of is that of informed consent for scientific testing. In an article published in the *Juneau Empire* regarding the "Living Relatives" study, Sealaska anthropologist Chuck Smythe assures readers that "[e]ach volunteer will sign a consent form allowing the blood to be used by a research team at the University of Victoria" and that "[t]he samples will be destroyed after the study" ("DNA study seeks relatives"). From what I have been able to discern through discussions with CAFN anthropologist Sheila Greer, the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi management committee did not draft its own set of detailed ethical protocols to guide these studies; rather, the research groups followed the guidelines established by their respective institutions. My understanding is that Dr. Levin's research project was assessed by the University of Victoria in accordance with the university's code of ethics, which was the guiding set of protocols for the project. Upon asking to read the agreement, Greer told me that the "research agreement between Dr. Levin/U Victoria and CAFN is not a public document." As a result, I am unable to verify whether or not the agreement was only a generic University of Victoria research ethics document or whether it was modified to reflect the particular circumstances of the case. While university research ethics boards have well-established standards for practice and internal review mechanisms, such generic protocols are not drafted with an awareness of the specific cultural concerns of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations. As a result, a "good faith" basis for scientific research on the corpse—even if all parties are well-intentioned—might not be enough to protect the rights and beliefs of specific aboriginal groups.

In seeking to rupture the discursive homogeneity surrounding the genetic research conducted on Long Ago Person Found, I do not want to foreclose upon the possibilities for interaction and collaborative agency that may have resulted from the collection of blood samples from several indigenous groups in Canada and the United States. My discussions with CAFN ethnologist Sheila Greer and my reading of the Sealaska website suggest that the "Search for Living Relatives" study may have engendered renewed communication between aboriginal communities as well as other forms of collaboration.[36] I also do not seek to re-interpret these events on behalf of the CAFN or any other indigenous government or organization. Rather, I aim the force of my critique at problematizing mainstream media, B.C. government, and academic representations of genetic testing in order to demonstrate how these dominant discourses have flattened many important layers of complexity in these debates. Additionally, I want to throw into relief some of the troubling implications of genetic research on indigenous populations and to articulate alternative perspectives that have been eclipsed from the hegemonic narrative surrounding the study of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi.

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[34] Like the other news articles I have been critiquing, the report in the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* did recur in virtually identical form under the title of "Science, tradition collide over 550-year-old iceman," published on 7 June 2002 in the *Houston Chronicle*.

[35] This information was provided during the interview on 12 January 2004. At this time, Greer also suggested that the CAFN has strong beliefs about death and that the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case has prompted discussion and thought regarding these issues within the community. According to Greer, the fact that the discovery of the remains became such a public matter was difficult to negotiate because, in the Southern Tutchone culture, people do not talk about the dead or print photographs or images of the dead. Greer's comment points toward the kinds of cultural beliefs that I want to respect without exploring them in detail as, this comment suggests, they are most likely not for public discussion.

Monsalve's and Levin's research projects collectively seek to reconstruct Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi's genetic profile as a way of classifying the corpse in relation to taxonomies of native populations, both present and past. In turn, this information is used to re-trace early human migrations on the continent. As Monsalve asserts in her *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* article, the "presence of haplogroup A in the KDT [Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi] remains suggests that he is one of the descendants of the first inhabitants who arrived from Asia"—an interpretation of "data" that further reinforces Western anthropology's predominant Bering Strait Theory (290). As a result, the DNA of Long Ago Person Found is used to crack the molecular code of pre-contact aboriginality and to map native otherness on geographic and genetic grids. In this context, the Iceman's DNA is framed as a kind of "immortal text, […] a text in which human prehistory is written," ready to be decoded via the work of science (Nelkin and Lindee 52).

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[36] An article published in *Raven's Eye*, "the Aboriginal Newspaper of British Columbia & Yukon," describes the effect of the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi discovery as enabling communication and interaction between several indigenous groups. Troy Hunter writes: "Mountains and borders have separated the Champagne Aishihik from their ancestral relatives, the Tlingit. Long Ago Person Found has helped in breaking down the barriers between the two First Nations" ("They call him"). The article then proceeds to quote Diane Strand, a CAFN official, who remarks: "We've gone to our neighbors with this and they are extremely interested in it [....] We're coming back full circle to the way we were before the borders put a stop to our interrelationship [...and] trading between the two nations" ("They call him").

With the rise of genetic databanking and the use of DNA analysis for "Native American Identity Verification," the semiotics of taxidermy have been retooled for new biopolitical terrain. One of the crucial aspects of the semiotics of taxidermy that I have analyzed throughout this dissertation is the complex temporal manipulations they encode. In genetic testing, such time warping is put into play via the collection and preservation of indigenous DNA as an "immortal text"—an "archive outside time" (Haraway 350)—upon which the secrets of "prehistory" are supposedly written. Here, the allochronism of colonial discourse is reinscribed by separating aboriginality from the movement of history and suspending it in a discrete and "immortalized" sphere of otherness. Moreover, the fetishistic desire to reconstruct aboriginal "prehistory"—a native state of nature—resonates in uncanny ways with the work of early ethnographic films such as Curtis' *Headhunters* that sought to use technology to phantasmatically travel back in time and recover the ostensibly lost mysteries of the "primitive" other.

The semiotics of taxidermy likewise inflect the re-processing of blood and soft tissue samples into scientific "specimens" that are, in turn, reincarnated as chemical sequences preserved in a database. As Donna Haraway argues in her essay "Universal Donors in a Vampire Culture […]: Biological Kinship Categories in the Twentieth-Century United States," genomic discourses reduce "[e]mbodied information with a complex time structure […] to a linear code in an archive outside time" (350). Key to Haraway's analysis is the contention that, in the brave new world of genomics, the "human *is* itself an information structure" and "the paradigmatic habitat for life—the program—bears no necessary relationship to messy, thick organisms" (352). At stake here, I want to suggest, is a violent form of evisceration that seeks to dismember genetic "information" from human bodies. Preying upon blood and flesh, genomic research simultaneously dissimulates its relation to these "messy, thick organisms" by reproducing them as sterile data immortalized and preserved in the new simulated habitat of databanks and computer programs.

Although Haraway recognizes the forms of disembodiment at stake in such processes, her expert inhabitation of genomic discourses and her intimate mimicry of their logic holds the dangerous potential to perpetuate the clinical, sterile aesthetics supposedly under critique. Moreover, her contention that "[g]enomics is neither taxidermy nor the reconstruction practices of the new physical anthropology" remains unelaborated in a way that separates genetic research from the material violence of taxidermy and the epistemological violence of physical anthropology, leaving a consideration of genomic violence under-theorized (Haraway 351). In contrast, I believe that the semiotics of taxidermy can powerfully elucidate the problematics at stake in the new world of genomics and can return an understanding of the material violence of such processes to our discussion. While genetic research is admittedly different from literal or conventional taxidermic practices, the kinds of violence effected by genomic discourses and practices are importantly linked to taxidermy's *semiotics*—its manipulation of temporality, its re-categorization of bodily matter as specimen sample, and its preoccupation with reproducing bodies in the immortalized form of artificial life. For example, the practice of extracting indigenous blood, hair, and tissue fragments and converting them into cell lines for preservation is referred to as the production of "immortalized" DNA ("Indigenous People" 6). This reconstruction of aboriginal bodies as scientific specimens—immortalized in a suspended state of artificial life—is not about clinical, disinterested informatics but, rather, a reinvented taxidermic fetishization of the body of the native other. At stake here, I contend, is the preservation and "reincarnation" of minute bodily fragments as the cellular units of what is framed as "immortal life" itself. By analyzing how genetic research has re-coded the semiotics of taxidermy in our current era, therefore, the particular forms of violence effected by this new discursive formation—as well as their relation to previous historically specific colonial practices—might be underscored, defamiliarized, and critiqued in politically urgent ways.[37]

Biopower and Biocolonialism

The genetic tests conducted on the remains of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi cannot merely be read as an isolated case; rather, they are crucially related to broader problematics surrounding genomic interest in and exploitation of indigenous peoples in our current era. In order to better understand the ideological and political implications of the discovery and study of Long Ago Person Found, therefore, I want to re-articulate this case in relation to important perspectives on indigenous peoples and genomics that have been suppressed or overwritten in scientific, B.C. government, and mainstream media reports regarding these remains. While the decision to allow particular scientific tests upon the corpse should ultimately be left to the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, the concerns regarding genetic research raised by other indigenous activist collectives and indigenous scholars demonstrate the heterogeneity of perspectives on such matters.

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[37] At this point, the reader might question how the work of spectacle so integral to the semiotics of taxidermy discussed in previous chapters might relate to genomic practices. This is an important question that will be broached in the following section.

The very existence of ongoing debates regarding genomics and its potentially volatile political implications for aboriginal peoples, I contend, is evidence in and of itself that we are living in neocolonial—rather than postcolonial—times.

As I noted near the outset of this chapter, while the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations' cultural beliefs regarding the treatment of the dead and the status of blood have been crucial to their own discussions regarding the study of Long Ago Person Found, I do not want to ethnographize these beliefs in my analysis here. The CAFN have not articulated their views in detail to a public, non-aboriginal audience and, thus, they may not be intended for general knowledge. Hence my focus in the following pages on alternative public and activist discourses that interrogate the political implications of genetic research. One group whose arguments are particularly salient to the debates surrounding the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case is the Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism (IPCB). The IPCB is an American-based non-profit organization concerned with the implications of genetic research in general but also, more specifically, with the impact of such studies on indigenous peoples in the U.S. and across the globe. In this vein, the IPCB "is organized to assist indigenous peoples in the protection of their genetic resources, indigenous knowledge, [and] cultural and human rights from the negative effects of biotechnology" (*IPCB Website*). Moreover, the IPCB "provides educational and technical support to indigenous peoples in the protection of their biological resources, cultural integrity, knowledge and collective rights" (*IPCB Website*). Other international indigenous collectivities working to resist genetic research are the Indigenous Women's Network, the Indigenous Environmental Network, the Rural Advancement Foundation International (RAFI) and the World Council of Indigenous

Peoples.[38] Complementing the activist and public awareness work of organizations such as the IPCB, anti-neocolonial critiques of genetic research on indigenous peoples have recently been initiated from within certain sectors of the academy, most notably in the journal *Cultural Survival Quarterly* and in research conducted by Choctaw philosopher Laurie Anne Whitt and Juaneño/Yaqui critic M.A. Jaimes Guerrero.

The term "biocolonialism" has been coined to signal a "new wave of colonialism" in our present tense that hinges upon the exploitation of indigenous peoples' genetic diversity, rather than only the raw materials of their territory or their labour power. Tracing the contours of biocolonial appropriation and exploitation, Debra Harry, Executive Director of the IPCB, asserts;

> Indigenous peoples worldwide are now at the forefront of a new wave of scientific investigation: the quest for monopoly control of genetic resources that will be useful in new pharmaceuticals, nutriceuticals, and other bio-engineered products [....]
>
> Indigenous peoples currently are the subjects of evolutionary genetic research, pharmaco-genetic research, and the search for single nucleotide polymorphisms or disease genes, to name a few. This work has seen extensive violations of human rights by researchers who fail to get fully informed consent from their research subjects, and who allow widespread secondary use, and/or commercialization, of human genetic samples without the consent of the donor [....]

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[38] The IPCB headquarters is located in Nevada and operated under an advisory board. The IPCB homepage may be located at: http://www.ipcb.org. The IPCB focuses not only on debates surrounding the genetic testing of indigenous peoples; it also addresses agribusiness and pharmaceutical "bioprospecting" of indigenous herbal remedies. A similar but smaller Canadian organization is the Indigenous Peoples Biodiversity Information Network (IBIN), located in Kamloops, British Columbia. The IBIN currently constitutes "a mechanism to exchange information about experiences and projects and to increase collaboration among indigenous groups working on common causes related to biodiversity use and conservation" ("Resources on genetic engineering" 13). The IBIN may be located online at: http://www.ibin.org. The Council for Responsible Genetics (CRG) is an American-based non-profit organization of "scientists, environmentalists, public health advocates, physicians, lawyers and other concerned citizens" formed in 1983 and located in Cambridge, Massachusetts ("Resources on genetic engineering" 13). The CRG "encourages informed public debate about the social, ethical, and environmental implications of new genetic technologies, and advocates for socially responsible use of these technologies" ("Resources on genetic engineering" 13). Further information regarding this organization may be obtained at the website: http://www.gene-watch.org. Another organization dealing with issues pertaining to biocolonialism is the Rural Advancement Foundation International, which has its headquarters in Canada and may be located online at: http://www.rafi.org.

> [T]hrough the application of intellectual property rights law, namely patents, corporations can claim ownership over genes, products, and data derived from genetic resources [....]
>
> The result is a legitimized process for thievery, which we call "biocolonialism." ("The new wave of colonialism" 2)

At the core of such "biopiracy" practices, Harry further contends, is a racist logic that targets indigenous peoples as "objects of scientific curiosity" and repositories of unique genetic information ("The new wave of colonialism" 2).

The rise of biocolonialism over the last twenty years is integrally bound up with the work of the Human Genome Project (HGP) and the ostensibly discrete Human Genome Diversity Project (HGDP) ("Indians, Genes and Genetics" 7).[39] Initiated in 1990, the Human Genome Project became an international effort "to identify all the approximately 30,000 genes in human DNA" ("Human Genome Project Information" *NCBI Website*) and "to arrive at a prototype or 'generic' sequence [of…] an 'average' genome" ("Indigenous Peoples, Genes, and Genetics" 10).[40] Despite the descriptor

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[39] According to Donna Haraway, the "genome is the totality of genetic 'information' in an organism or, more commonly, the totality of genetic information in all the chromosomes in the nucleus of a cell. Conventionally, the genome refers only to the nucleic acid that 'codes' for something, and not to the dynamic, multipart structures and processes that constitute functional, reproducing cells and organisms" (Haraway 350).

[40] An entire dissertation could be written on the tensions between nationalism and globalization that have contoured the Human Genome Project. Detailed elaboration on the complex interactions between various national (or state-sponsored) human genome research programs and those carried out by private research facilities, however, falls beyond the scope of this chapter. Tom Wilkie's *Perilous Knowledge: The Human Genome Project and its Implications* offers a good starting point for studying these issues. Without elaborating on this topic at length, I will, however, mention that an independent agency was established to co-ordinate international research. The Human Genome Organization (HUGO) is a "non-profit, non-governmental group of scientists" developed to play an important role in facilitating the sharing and organizing of genetic research occurring across the globe ("HGDP—FAQ" *Morrison Institute Website*). That said, the HGP was initiated by the United States Department of Energy and National Institutes of Health and these organizations still play a major role in coordinating the program (Williams 3). Unlike nations such as Great Britain and Japan, "Canada has had no formal national human genome program" (Williams 4). "Despite this, Canadian scientists have contributed to the HGP, for example through the sequencing of genes and ethics study" (Williams 4). In the federal government's 2000 budget, "Genome Canada was allotted $160 million for five centers of genome science research" across the country (Williams 4).

"generic," the HGP used "DNA taken mainly from individuals likely to be of European ancestry in North America and Europe," thereby reinforcing the dominance of whiteness by framing it as the human universal ("HGDP—FAQ" *Morrison Institute Website*).[41] As a result, this universalizing project paradoxically belies a deep commitment to racial purity that is immensely productive for contemporary white interests. Theorizing the recent decades as an era of "reverse postcoloniality," Mark Driscoll traces "a reactive, though emergent, moment in global governance of forced dehybridization and homogenization" (70). Thus, according to Driscoll, power operates via "the racialized rejection of recombinant hybridity" and the re-essentialization of identities (Driscoll 63). In this context, the Human Genome Project's racially-purist agenda—dissimulated via the rhetoric of universality—constitutes a powerful institutionalized site for the working out of reverse postcoloniality and the maintenance of neocolonial hegemony.

In an effort to supposedly counteract the eurocentric bias of the Human Genome Project, a second program, the Human Genome Diversity Project, was sanctioned by the non-governmental, international Human Genome Organization (HUGO). While the HGDP is supposedly a separate initiative, many of its major organizers "are also key participants in the broader Genome Project" (Guerrero 184). Moreover, although proponents narrate the HGDP's origins in terms of HUGO endorsement, it was actually "advocated for and funded by private corporations," particularly major pharmaceutical companies interested in mining indigenous populations for bio-resources that might enable the production of new medications (Guerrero 184). Camouflaging such exploitative motivations, the North American Committee of the HGDP re-frames the project as a noble effort to "include" indigenous populations in genetic research and, thus, to purportedly "explore the full range of genome diversity within the human family" ("HGDP—FAQ" *Morrison Institute Website*).[42]

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[41] The Human Genome Project completed its mandate ahead of schedule, developing a "working draft of the entire human genome sequence" by June 2000 and publishing analyses of this information by February 2001 ("Human Genome Project Information" *NCBI Website*). Despite this supposed completion of work, however, the HGP continues today, exploring new applications for the information that has been collected in databases.

As I have already suggested, however, the interests that fuel the HGDP are significantly more fraught than the reference to "explor[ing…] diversity within the human family" might imply. Specifically, the HGDP seeks to collect and preserve DNA samples from 722 distinct indigenous populations around the world according to research protocols and investments that differ significantly from the HGP initiative. For example, researchers hope that this "data" will help "answer questions about geographical migrations and cultural interchange in the distant human past" (Nelkin and Lindee 52). According to the HGDP website: "[I]t can help tell us, for example, whether migrations brought Native Americans to the Western Hemisphere from Asia or whether a single group is ancestral to all modern Native Americans" ("HGDP—FAQ" *Morrison Institute Website*). In other words, the findings of the HGDP could be used to further validate the Bering Strait theory—an hypothesis formulated by anthropologists and resisted by many aboriginal groups—and, by extension, "to challenge aboriginal rights to territory, resources, and self-determination" ("Indigenous People" 17).[43] Thus, in contrast to the

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[42] The official website for the North American Committee of the HGDP is linked to the homepage for the Morrison Institute for Population and Resource Studies at Stanford University. The information I am citing here has been obtained from the HGDP's "Frequently Asked Questions" section. This document is a self-conscious attempt to put a favourable spin on the project and to proactively rebut many of the concerns raised by groups such as the Indigenous Peoples Council on Biocolonialism.

[43] According to the IPCB, "many governments have sanctioned the use of genomic archetypes to help resolve land conflicts and ancestral ownership claims among Tibetans and Chinese, Azeris and Armenians,

Human Genome Project, which maps a basically "caucasian" genome for the study of current populations, the HGDP frames indigenous groups as repositories of the molecular codes of "distant past[ness]," to recall the terminology deployed by the HGDP itself. In this sense, the foundational assumptions that guide the HGDP and differentiate it from the HGP are predicated upon the allochronism of colonial discourse and its denial of coevalness between dynamic caucasian populations of the present tense and indigenous peoples confined to an anterior temporal realm, whose genetic material supposedly holds the clues to "prehistory."[44]

The allochronism embedded in the policies and practices of the HGDP are made abundantly clear in their categorization of indigenous populations as "Isolates of Historic

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and Serbs and Croats, as well as those in Poland, Russia, and the Ukraine who claim German citizenship on the grounds that they are ethnic Germans" ("Indigenous People" 17).

[44] Another crucial aspect of the Diversity Project that perpetuates massive power asymmetries between researchers and the indigenous peoples being studied concerns the matter of producing and patenting DNA samples and pharmaceuticals produced as a result of the "data" obtained. The HGDP website comments: "[T]he Project does not intend to patent the samples or any products made from them [....] At its international congress in September 1993, the Project decided that it would not profit from the samples or the data developed from them. It further decided that it would try to guarantee that, if any products were developed as a result of samples obtained from sample repositories or data banks operated by the Project, some reasonable financial benefits would flow back to the sampled populations" ("HGDP—FAQ" *Morrison Institute Website*). The numerous qualifications in this statement make its assurances difficult to follow. While the HGDP organization claims it "does not intend" to patent the samples it obtains, it fails to mention the patenting of products made as a result of the information obtained from this research. Moreover, the HGDP does not provide a clear statement about the potential "financial benefits" resulting from this research. While I cannot discuss in detail the problems of exploitation that have already occurred as a result of genetic research conducted on indigenous populations, I do want to note two important cases. In 1993, the U.S. Secretary of Commerce "filed a patent claim on the cell line of a 26-year old Guaymi woman from Panama" ("Indigenous People" 16) because she carried a unique virus and its antibodies that could be significant to leukemia research (Haraway 355). The Guaymi General Congress spearheaded international protest in response and pressured the U.S. government into abandoning the patent. The Guaymi have since organized to "repatriate their genetic material from the American Type Culture Collection and other First World genomic/informatic databanks" (Haraway 330). In 1995, however, the U.S. Patent and Trademarks Office did grant a patent on the cell line of a Hagahai man from Papua New Guinea. The Hagahai cell line "is now available to the public at the American Type Culture Collection [...] for $216 per sample" ("Indigenous People" 16). In December 1993, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples passed a resolution to "categorically reject and condemn the Human Genome Diversity Project as it applies to our rights, lives and dignity" ("Resolution on the HGDP"). Following suit in 1995, the Indigenous Peoples of the Western Hemisphere signed a similar declaration opposing the HGDP (Whitt 47).

Interest." This term was initially formulated by the Diversity Project's founders in a "report by the organizing committee of a 1992 workshop" (Guerrero 178), which remarks:

> [M]any populations around the world, especially isolates living traditional lifestyles, will soon disappear as independent units, because of disease, economic or physical deprivation, genetic admixture, or cultural assimilation. In this report, we refer to such groups as "isolates of historic interest" because they represent groups that should be sampled before they disappear as integral units so that their role in human history can be preserved. The organizers have attempted to use terminology in this report that is as sensitive as possible in this regards. Undoubtedly, errors have been made. (qtd. in Guerrero 178)

Ironically, the HGDP's attempt to use "sensitive" language results in the sterile and objectifying rubric "Isolates of Historic Interest." In this passage, the HGDP also articulates its ideologically-loaded assumptions in striking terms: overwriting the contemporaneity of indigenous groups in our current era, the HGDP frames these populations as fragile, hovering on the brink of extinction in the wake of global traffic, "cultural assimilation," and "genetic admixture" (read: miscegenation). From this perspective, the HGDP constructs its mandate as an urgent project to collect and preserve the DNA of indigenous peoples before the supposedly inevitable occurs and their diversity vanishes forever ("Indigenous People" 17).[45]

The rhetoric of the Human Genome Diversity Project uncannily echoes the logic underpinning the early twentieth-century salvage paradigm that inspired the ethnographic films of Edward Curtis and Marius Barbeau. Much as salvage ethnography fashioned itself as an urgent enterprise to preserve fading aboriginality via the use of Western technology, the HGDP promises to capture the traces of disappearing peoples, substituting computer databases and frozen molecules for the older archives of wax cylinders and celluloid. In addition to these rhetorical and ideological similarities, the material practices of "collection" implemented by the HGDP once again take recourse to the work of anthropologists stationed in so-called remote fieldwork locations. In fact, the initial list of the 722 indigenous populations selected for genetic research was generated by anthropologists already "embedded" in the suggested communities (Whitt 53). The HGDP website acknowledges that in many cases, the agents who collect DNA samples are "often anthropologists who have spent an extended period with the people, learning their ways" ("HGDP—FAQ" *Morrison Institute Website*). While HGDP proponents go out of their way to suggest that such a reliance upon anthropologists helps to "ensure that the [indigenous] population and the Project understand each other" ("HGDP—FAQ" *Morrison Institute Website*), the use of fieldworkers as collectors not only of indigenous histories and lifeways, but also of the bodily matter of people, reinscribes and extends the fraught power asymmetries of the anthropologist-subject relationship onto new biopolitical terrain. In this sense, the Human Genome Diversity Project constitutes a reinvented form of salvage ethnography for the new millennium.

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[45] Donna Haraway confirms this reading when she says (in an admittedly "mordant" tone): "The population geneticists [who initiated the HGDP] were also worried that many human populations around the world were becoming extinct—either literally or through interbreeding and swamping of their diversity in larger adjoining populations—with the consequent loss of genetic information forever impoverishing the databases of the species" (352).

Ironically, proponents of the HGP and HGDP argue that the mapping of DNA has provided the definitive "proof" for transcending racial categories, thereby facilitating a kind of postcolonial enlightenment. As the website for the North American branch of the HGDP awkwardly puts it: "People within 'ethnic groups' are genetically more different from each other than their group is from other groups" ("HGDP-FAQ" *Morrison Institute*

Website). In other words, there is greater genetic variation *within* than *between* so-called "ethnic" groups.[46] The scrambled syntax of the HGDP's statement, I contend, is symptomatic of a desperate desire to be non-racist. Because this desire is inextricably bound up with a project that effectively reifies racial categories in the process of purportedly disavowing them, however, the HGDP's attempts to occupy a non-racist position inevitably fail. This crisis in belief manifests itself in syntactical strain: substituting the category of "ethnic" for "racial" and repeatedly invoking the term "group" as a supposedly generic unit of classification, the HGDP seeks to neutralize and dissimulate its ongoing practices of human taxonomization. Thus, while the findings of the Human Genome Project have demonstrated that there is no "genetic" (i.e. the definitive new paradigm for understanding the "biological") basis for racial categories, the scientific fervor for "mapping" and taxonomizing human genomes, preserving "genetic diversity," and utilizing such "biodiversity resources" for the invention of pharmaceuticals, has effectively instated new policies and procedures that reinforce neocolonial power and racist exploitation. In the midst of the ostensibly accurate, evidentiary, and clinical science of genomics, therefore, colonial discourse and the "race"-based discrimination it seeks to legitimate are perniciously perpetuated.

What kind of racism, then, pays lipservice to the debunking of the biological foundations of "race" yet reinscribes racist inequities in the practice of biotechnological research? In his book *Between Camps: Race, Identity and Nationalism at the End of the Colour Line*, Paul Gilroy argues that the brave new world of DNA research has led to

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[46] This statement is a paraphrase from the American Anthropological Association's 1998 "Statement on Race." In this document, the AAA asserts: "[e]vidence from the analysis of genetics (e.g., DNA) indicates that most physical variation, about 94%, lies *within* so-called racial groups. Conventional geographic 'racial' groupings differ from one another only in about 6% of their genes. This means that there is greater variation within 'racial' groups than between them" (*American Anthropological Association Website*).

"the rise of gene-oriented or genomic contructions of 'race'" in our current era (14-15). According to Gilroy, "today's raciology" (34) has moved beyond the "New Racism" diagnosed by Etienne Balibar and elaborated by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri—a racism that replaces "biological differences" with "sociological and cultural signifiers as the key representation of racial hatred and fear" (Hardt and Negri 191). Arguing that "the era of that New Racism is emphatically over," Gilroy charts yet another modulation of racist thought in the present:

> What appears to be the *re*birth of biologism is not in fact the resurgence of older colonial and imperial codes [...] but part of a bigger contemporary transformation in the ways that people conceptualize the relationship between nature, culture, and society, between their freedom and their human agency. The status of "race" is inevitably transformed by this. Yes, we are once again in a period in which social and cultural differences are being coded according to the rules of a biological discourse, but it cannot be emphasized enough that this latest raciological regime differs from its predecessors. We must not approach it as though it represents a retreat behind the culturalist ambitions of the old, that is, the New, Racism. It is a distinctive phenomenon that needs to be apprehended and countered as such. "Race" cannot be ossified, and, as may have been anticipated, it is the gene-centeredness of this discourse that defines its deterministic approach to human action in general and the formation of racial groups in particular. (34-35)

Thus, according to Gilroy, the "status of 'race'" in our current era cannot be explained simply in terms of "older colonial and imperial codes" or the New Racism's "culturalist amibitions." Rather, the "latest raciological regime" is a "distinctive phenomenon" that requires new theorization that is attentive to current conceptualizations of the relation between "nature, culture, and society" as well as questions of human agency in the information age. In particular, Gilroy stresses that critical analyses of today's raciology must grapple with the "gene-centredness" of these discourses and the particular forms of determinism they inscribe. In this context, then, contemporary racist thought is crucially linked to the rise of gene collecting, mapping, and banking, and must be understood in relation to these contemporary scientific and cultural processes.[47]

Key to Gilroy's critique of the latest raciology is a theorization of the move from "dermopolitics" to "nanopolitics" and its impact upon the production of racist spectacle—the work of the "dismal orders of power and differentiation that [...seek] to make the mute body disclose and conform to the truths of its racial identity" (46). In this vein, Gilroy conceptualizes "dermopolitics" in terms of Frantz Fanon's theorization of the "racial epidermal schema" (Fanon 112)—an "historically specific system for making bodies meaningful by endowing them with qualities of 'color'" (Gilroy 46). Dermopolitics, therefore, "suggests a perceptual regime in which the racialized body is bounded and protected by its enclosing skin. The observer's gaze does not penetrate that membrane but rests upon it" (46). Charting the changes in raciology today, Gilroy argues that "skin is no longer privileged as the threshold of either identity or particularity [....] The boundaries of 'race' have moved across the threshold of the skin," penetrating the body and operating on a "cellular and molecular, not dermal" level (47). According to this argument, "[d]ermo-politics succeeded biopolitics. Both preceded nano-politics" (Gilroy 46). Rather than being rendered obsolete, then, racist spectacle has reconfigured itself on a microscopic, molecular level that permeates and invades the body through new modes of technological and scientific investigation such as the mapping of DNA.

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[47] While I am persuaded by Gilroy's argument regarding the latest raciology, I want to add a few caveats to clarify my own critical position. Specifically, while Gilroy expertly diagnoses a general shift in racist thinking, I do not want to consider it an absolute one. I feel that it is politically vital to not foreclose upon the ways that "older" forms of racist discourse—from seemingly antiquated biological determinism to the New (now "Old") Racism's culturalism—may also persist in reinvented ways in the present. For example, elements of Hardt and Negri's discussion of the New Racism's cultural essentialism—and the belief in "rigid limits to the flexibility and compatibility of cultures" (192)—resonates strikingly with the way media reportage reductively frames the Kennewick Man controversy as a polarized dispute between Western science and native traditionalism, two cultures ostensibly best suited to separation from each other. My consideration of such discursive reinventions stems from a critical commitment to remaining on the look-out for the heterogeneous ways that colonial and racist discourses might manifest themselves as well as attending to the ways that colonialism's and racism's historical practices might continue to haunt the current moment.

In what ways, then, might Gilroy's theorization of nano-politics relate to the case of Kwäday Dän Ts'inchi? Does the prospect of nano-political struggle render the semiotics of taxidermy an obsolete analytic construct? Alternately, at what points might nano-politics and the semiotics of taxidermy intersect? Throughout the previous three chapters, I have demonstrated that the semiotics of taxidermy—although linked to a material practice of stuffing skins—far exceeds the limits of epidermal signifiers (what Homi Bhabha refers to as "the signifier of 'skin/race'") via recourse to temporal manipulations, to stasis and mobility effects, and to auditory as well as visual codes (Bhabha 79). As well, the preceding case studies have investigated the ways that taxidermic spectacle hinges upon a deeply fraught semblance of "wholeness," of liveness depicted in the guise of the round. My discussion of Barbeau's and Curtis' films suggested that beneath the illusion of taxidermic wholeness, the production of ethnographic spectacle takes recourse to violent forms of cinematic cutting. In turn, with the case of Long Ago Person Found and the reconfiguration of raciology on genetic, nano-political levels, the appearance of taxidermic "wholeness" becomes even more profoundly compromised. Here, the frozen corpse is racialized and spectacularized in new ways: where more conventional taxidermy uses stretched and stuffed skin to represent reincarnated wholeness, genetic research on Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi reconfigures this logic of synecdoche in a way that deploys DNA to reconstruct the body of the racialized other. In this context, the corpse can be dispersed across the globe as fragmented soft tissue samples and yet remain a spectacularized figure of pre-contact aboriginality through the new "wholeness" of the genetic sequence, the supposed molecular totality of lost indigenous purity. Taxidermic wholeness, reinvented for the brave new world of genomics, therefore takes on new meaning. As a wholeness that breaks with the body's boundaries, nanopolitical spectacle hinges upon the ability to chemically reconstruct—via DNA preservation and immortalization—the genetic composition and vitality of once-thriving aboriginal populations whose corporeal forms are now ostensibly vanishing from the face of the earth.

As an heuristic device for analyzing the machinations of colonial and neocolonial discourse, the semiotics of taxidermy is an important tool for underscoring the material violence at stake in genetic research and its forms of racist exploitation. Similar to Donna Haraway's hyper-adept mimicry of the logic of genomics, Gilroy's critique of the "latest raciology" has the tendency to reinstate a kind of sterile aesthetics integral to the strategic dissimulation of ongoing violence in the age of informatics. For example, Gilroy pronounces that "skin, bone, and even blood are no longer the primary referents of racial discourse"; rather it is the "minute, the microscopic, and now the molecular" that matters (48). What my analysis of the HGDP as well as the study of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi demonstrates, however, is that the nano-political focus upon the microscopic and molecular crucially hinges upon the extraction of "skin, bone, and blood" from human bodies. To privilege the minute or micro levels of today's raciology, therefore, is to occlude the complex, yet very real, physical violence—enacted at the level of the body, its skin and blood—that is a fundamental part of current racist policies and practices implemented by genetic research. A consideration of the semiotics of taxidermy in relation to the reinvention of racist thought and practice, I contend, is crucial to recognizing the continuance of physical violence and the visceral fetishization of the skin, bone, and blood of "others" that persists in our neocolonial era. As previously demonstrated, such an obsession is strikingly apparent in media reportage detailing the "goose bumps" of the Iceman's skin and his thick black hair as tremendous scientific finds for "unravelling the secrets" of a pre-contact aboriginal past. Emphasizing the materiality and physicality of the violent forms of expropriation effected by the HGDP and other related genetic research projects, indigenous critic Victoria Tauli-Corpus remarks: "[t]his is just a more sophisticated version of how the remains of our ancestors are collected and stored in museums and scientific institutions" (qtd. in Whitt 40).[48] The case of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi and its crucial relation to broader debates about DNA testing on indigenous populations therefore foregrounds how, under the guise of objective science, genetic discourses have reinvented colonialist preoccupations with biological essentialism, racial purity, and the body of the native other for our neocolonial times.

Empire and the Production of Reconciliation

If colonial discourse is reinvented in our current era, then what are the implications of this reification for theories of the contemporary historical juncture that understand globalization as a crucial paradigm shift? To broach this question, I want to engage with one of the most vigorously debated hypotheses about our global epoch, as articulated in Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri's *Empire*. Hardt and Negri contend that our current era of "Empire"—the New World Order arising from the "irresistible and irreversible globalization of economic and cultural exchanges" (xi)—is historically distinct from prior imperialisms. Empire, they assert, is a "new global form of sovereignty" that unites "a series of national and supranational organisms" under a "single logic of rule" (xi). Key to the operation of "imperial sovereignty" is a re-tooled juridical apparatus that legitimates the machinations of power as always already "being in the service of right and peace" (15). In this sense, Empire presents itself as the harbinger of conflict resolution and the maker of public consensus. The insidious irony operative here is that Empire purports to effect peace through the so-called "moral intervention" of police force and "just war" (35). Paradoxically, then, "Empire is formed not on the basis of force itself but on the basis of the capacity to present force as being in the service of right and peace" (Hardt and Negri 15).

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[48] Tauli-Corpus is a leader of the Indigenous Peoples Caucus and the Executive Director of the TEBTEBBA Foundation (The Indigenous Peoples' International Centre for Policy Research and Education) in the Phillipines.

While in many respects, Hardt and Negri's diagnosis of our current era is instructive, I contend that their focus upon Empire's deployment of police and military force tends to exclude—though it does not preclude—consideration of more subtle and complex ways that the new juridical order works to pernicious effect. More specifically, I want to suggest that while the doctrine of right seeks to legitimate armed intervention, it simultaneously co-opts and contains other forms of struggle as signs of the smooth operation of peace. A striking example of this problematic is the New World Order's attempt to appropriate indigenous repatriation movements as evidence of global justice at work, as indices of Empire's juridical power to produce *post*colonial reconciliation. In resistance to Empire's machinations, I argue that it is crucial to remain cautious of the hegemonic rhetoric of justice and to continually re-interrogate how the discursive containment of repatriation struggles within a rubric of "right and peace" might be one of the insidious ways that—contrary to the historical *telos* that Hardt and Negri advance—neocolonial power relations persist within Empire.

The case of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi is importantly articulated to the juridical apparatus that Hardt and Negri critique. Reinscribing Empire's rhetoric of "right and peace," mainstream media reportage and B.C. government press releases have positioned the discovery, study, and reburial of Long Ago Person Found as an exemplary model of collaboration between the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, the B.C. government, and the scientific establishment. In so doing, these dominant discourses frame the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case as proof that in the new era of global justice, inter-governmental and inter-agency cooperation have pre-emptively eradicated the need for redress. As I have sought to demonstrate throughout this chapter, such a framing of the events surrounding the "management" of the corpse occludes nuances that are integral to understanding the power dynamics that complicate this so-called model of cooperation. In this sense, dominant discourses wash over the unresolved matter of the CAFN's land claim, the uneven custody of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi's body, and the political implications of genetic research both on the found remains and the blood samples obtained from current community members. To frame the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case as a sign of the smooth operation of peace in our current era, therefore, is to insidiously reduce a heterogeneous network of actors and debates to a master narrative of progress, a *grand récit* regarding the fulfillment of social justice.

In critiquing how the case of Long Ago Person Found has been co-opted by a dominant rhetoric of resolution, I do not want to dismiss or undermine the possibilities for communication and political agency these events have afforded the CAFN, nor do I want to prescribe a preferred course of action for this First Nation. On a broader level, I do not want to foreclose upon the political potential of social movements that press for reparations, ranging from the repatriation of human remains, to land claim agreements, and beyond. Instead, my concern is that the matter of colonial and neocolonial reckoning not be sold short—that dominant institutions do not get away with offering hollow or compromised tokens of redress. As a result, it is important to continue to exert political pressure upon the rhetoric of "right and peace" so prevalent in our current era in order to further the project of resisting neocolonial power.

An important document for establishing the overarching rhetoric of cooperation contouring repatriation cases in Canada today is the 1992 report produced by the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples. This joint body comprised of members of the Assembly of First Nations (AFN) and the Canadian Museums Association (CMA) published a summary of their findings entitled *Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples.* Regarding the issue of repatriation, the report states: "there was a consensus in favour of the return of human remains and illegally obtained objects along with certain non-skeletal burial materials and other sacred objects to appropriate First Peoples" (5). The matter of how such processes should occur, however, is left relatively open-ended throughout the document, as exemplified by the following comment:

> a case-by-case collaborative approach to resolving repatriation based on moral and ethical criteria is favoured rather than a strictly legalistic approach. The "Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act," recently passed in the United States, was studied by Task Force members. While not ruling out the possibility of the creation of legislation in the future it was agreed that it was preferable to encourage museums and Aboriginal peoples to work collaboratively to resolve issues concerning the management, care and custody of cultural objects. (5)

Relying heavily on the principles of "collaboration," "co-management," and "co-responsibility" (7), *Turning the Page* allows these three concepts to carry the burden of defining how repatriation negotiations should be "resolved." The report, however, treats these words as self-evident and at the same time generic, failing to spell out the pragmatic ways in which such "co-management" might occur or what kinds of "moral and ethical criteria" might be used to govern the process. To consider moral and ethical principles as transparent concepts is to potentially posit eurocentric values as universals that can easily ensure "fairness" in negotiations between museums and First Peoples. Moreover, the concepts of "collaboration" and "cooperation" that operate as guiding principles throughout the document seem to replace—and to exclude—other more forceful terms such as "social justice" and "equality." Where "cooperation" and "collaboration" often imply harmonious negotiation on an already-level playing field, terms like "social justice" are charged by traces of their use in a variety of political struggles actively and explicitly aimed at combatting neocolonial power asymmetries. Such a recognition of the ongoing power imbalances between museums and First Peoples, I contend, is vital to formulating strategies that deliberately seek to address these disparities.

A close examination of the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi case demonstrates that the current reliance upon nebulously-defined principles such as "collaboration" is insufficient to guard against the reinscription of neocolonial power asymmetries in the "management" of aboriginal human remains and cultural objects. Moreover, the matter of Long Ago Person Found points toward the insidious ways that such tropes may be recirculated by the mainstream media and neocolonial governments in order to co-opt the discovery, study, and reburial of aboriginal human remains as signs of the smooth operation of peace in so-called postcolonial Canada. In contrast, while the Kennewick Man case in the United States demonstrates the many problems of NAGPRA as it is currently formulated, the existence of this federal legislation does enforce certain concrete responsibilities on the part of museums (including, for example, the requirement that museums, universities, and federal agencies "prepare inventories of human remains and associated grave artifacts, as well as less detailed summaries of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony that are in their collections" and send notices "to those Native American groups reasonably believed to be culturally affiliated" to the inventoried remains or objects [Gerstenblith 169, 170]). While one of the crucial problems of NAGPRA is the way it makes restitution contingent upon fraught definitions of "Native American" identity and "cultural affiliation," the *Turning the Page* report published by the Canadian government has the potential to repeat many of these problems by including a similarly vague and problematic clause, noting that "First Peoples communities should be able to demonstrate direct prior cultural connection and ownership with regard to collections in question." In no way unambiguous, the concepts of "direct prior cultural connection and ownership" are subject to multiple interpretations. Instead of defining such concepts in the legislature or the courtroom, the Canadian Task Force proposes a "case-by-case" decision process, but does not specify in what kind of "co-operative" or communicative space this will occur. As a result, the report fails to acknowledge how even the "co-management" boardroom in our current era may still be contoured by persistent power imbalances between dominant museological institutions and aboriginal groups.

The question of whether or not federal legislation regarding repatriation should be adopted in Canada remains open for much further study and discussion—inquiry that falls beyond the scope of this dissertation. My point in raising the debate is to suggest that struggles by indigenous peoples for greater control over the representation of their communities and histories, and for custody of human remains and cultural objects, are by no means limits that have been exceeded in our present tense. Moreover, I want to signal how the *Turning the Page* report relies upon the overused concepts of "collaboration" and "co-management" without any system of definition or arbitration, as though Empire's self-proclaimed epoch of "right and peace" is a *fait accompli.* While I do not want to foreclose upon the possible ways that "collaboration" and "co-management" might be utilized to effect social and political change and to enable communication between First Peoples and the state, it is important to acknowledge how these terms are repeatedly mobilized in our current era in ways that fall far short of such goals. In this regard, the case of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi powerfully demonstrates the importance of continually interrogating the rhetoric of "right and peace"—and "collaboration" for that matter—in order to critique the failures of what masquerades as *post*colonial resolution and to fight for more adequate forms of social justice.

Post-Script

If "taxidermy" denotes a material practice—the hollowing-out and re-stuffing of a corpse (usually animal)—it also connotes a more general problematic regarding the desire to display human mastery over nature, the desire to preserve death in the guise of life. Throughout this dissertation, I have theorized taxidermy not only as the literal practice of stuffing skins but also as a powerful semiotic system that is translated across a variety of cultural texts. In particular, I have investigated how historically specific methods and practices of museum exhibition, ethnographic photography, phonography, film, and media reportage deploy the semiotics of taxidermy to reinforce narratives of colonial conquest over "nature" and "natives"—two constituencies frequently conflated in the interests of white supremacy. Engaging with the fields of museology, art history, film studies, and media studies, I have sought to analyze taxidermy's semiotic reconfigurations across a constellation of inter-related case studies in order to historicize colonialist ideology and to interrogate its reinscriptions in our so-called postcolonial era. In this vein, I have argued that sustained attention to the semiotics of taxidermy offers a crucial point of entry for critiquing Euro-North American representations of indigenous peoples and their relation to the environment throughout the twentieth-century and into the current moment.

While the previous paragraph invokes the past tense in describing the arguments expounded throughout this dissertation, I want to underscore the fact that tracking the semiotics of taxidermy is an ongoing project, one that exceeds the limits of the four case studies I have investigated here. Rather than a comprehensive analysis, my dissertation constitutes an effort to begin the work of articulating texts, spaces, and events of taxidermic signification in a perpetually reconfiguring constellation. Although the final case study regarding the discovery and study of Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi charts important reconfigurations of taxidermic spectacle in the wake of a general (but not absolute) cultural shift from dermopolitics to nanopolitics, the dissertation's sequencing of chapters is not predicated upon a teleology of taxidermy's representational evolution. As outlined in the introduction, the multiple temporal conjunctures at stake in each case study resist such a chronological imperative. By beginning with a study of the Banff Park Museum's current tactics for "managing" its taxidermy displays and leaving off with a discussion of the so-called collaborative strategies for "managing" the body of Long Ago Person Found, I have sought to demonstrate how taxidermy—in *both* its literal and semiotically-reinvented forms—persists in the present tense.

Even as taxidermy "proper" continues today, this technology's semiotic transmogrifications have also extended further afield from its "natural origins." As chapter four has already suggested, the semiotics of taxidermy may reconfigure themselves in surprising ways that move far beyond the natural realm, recirculating within the artificial life-world of genetic engineering and databanking. To extend and complicate this argument, I want to briefly investigate one vignette staged inside the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC)—one of the nation's principal sites of cultural representation—that prompts important questions about taxidermy's relation to theoretical prophesies of a future shaped by cyborgian, virtual, and posthuman influences. Postmodernism's supposed fantasy of the cyborg might initially appear antithetical to taxidermy's semiotic preoccupation with the conflated categories of "nature" and "natives"—categories that are framed as anachronistic to the present in colonial and neocolonial discourses. The following example, however, compellingly suggests that the temporal manipulations of neocolonial discourse may be strategically re-worked in order to reify taxidermy's semiotics in the current conjuncture and to fuse them with the figure of the cyborg in powerful ways. At the same time that the CMC vignette provokes thought about taxidermy's cybernetic manifestations in the present and future, however, this striking scene also sheds new light on taxidermy's historical manifestations in the past, as I will soon demonstrate.

The Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec—situated directly across the Ottawa River from the federal Parliament buildings—stands as a museological monument to the nation's historical progress toward "civilized" greatness. According to Dr. Victor Rabinovitch, President and CEO of the CMC Corporation, the museum's "major collections and many exhibitions shed light on three central themes: Canada's fascinating story of immigration; the history of our economy, our society and our cultures; and Canada's rich Aboriginal heritage" (Rabinovitch 2). Though subtle, Rabinovitch's differentiation of themes implies a spacing or separation between the "history" of the nation's "economy" and "society" and Canada's "rich Aboriginal heritage." Heritage, it seems, is something different from the history of nation-making—a pastness prior to the country's development that has been inherited, claimed, or appropriated by the nation-state for the purposes of narrating its deep origins. While Rabinovitch might accuse me of over-reading here, I maintain that the spacing at work in his expository list of the CMC's overarching themes is indicative of the persistent reinscription of the allochronism of neocolonial discourse within museum space. This division between the static pastness of "Aboriginal heritage" and the time of modern

Western historical progress becomes further complicated as it is inscribed throughout the CMC's specific installations.

While several of the CMC's permanent exhibitions, including the reinvented First Peoples' Hall (re-opened in 2003), require sustained critical attention far beyond the scope of this dissertation, I want to focus upon one profoundly troubling scene within this national museum that exemplifies taxidermy's surprising semiotic manifestations in the current era. At the far end of the "Grand Hall"—the section of the museum that literally stages a "Pacific Coast Native Village" comprised of façades of "traditional" houses—lies the entrance to an exhibition entitled "From Time Immemorial: Tsimshian Prehistory." Opened in 1994 as a long-term installation scheduled to run until December 2010, "From Time Immemorial" re-creates "the setting of an ancient forest" (*Civilization.ca Website*) in order to "explore aspects of Tsimshian culture from far back in time" (Ruddell 45). With dimmed lights, overgrown synthetic vines hanging from the ceiling, and a blurred film clip of Tsimshian dancing projected onto a faux-rock wall, visitors are encouraged to feel as though they are walking into the "darkness" of "prehistory"—a jungle-like, primordial space haunted by the images and sounds of a Tsimshian past. Dispersed around the room are several mannequins enclosed in glass cases like taxidermic specimens representing social "types" in "ancient" Tsimshian culture, including "the warrior," "the shaman," "the clam digger," and "the hunter" (Ruddell 45-48).[1]

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[1] The Grand Hall village consists of façades of six aboriginal houses that are lined up against a wall in a way that is supposedly reminiscent of how "traditional" native villages faced the sea (Rabinovitch 40). The "boardwalk," however, conveniently doubles as a stage upon which special events, including performances by the museum's resident theatre company, are held. In this sense, the Grand Hall is inherently constructed as a space of spectacle. At the entrance to "From Time Immemorial," a sign states: "[t]he exhibition presents the findings of the North Coast Prehistory Project, carried out by the Museum to uncover archaeological information and tie it in with research done earlier by Harlan Smith, Marius Barbeau and

While these hollow ciphers of taxonomized social types are in themselves evidence of the continuing taxidermic obsession with portraying ostensibly lost pre-contact native bodies in three-dimensional poses—in the empty guise of anthropologically-reconstructed "wholeness"—yet another mannequin posed at the entrance to the installation extends and complicates the reinscription of the semiotics of taxidermy. Positioned as the welcoming host to the world of "Tsimshian Prehistory," this mannequin of a Tsimshian Chief is not encased in glass but, rather, exposed to the open air and framed by the vines hanging around him. From the shoulders down, the Chief is comprised of a similar synthetic and costumed body as the other mannequins in the installation; where he differs radically, however, is in his face and head. Made from material like a film screen but contoured with skeletal dimension, the Chief's head functions as a blank surface upon which a repeating video clip is projected. The film footage features a "live" Chief speaking the following greeting:

> I am Chief ______, successor to _______ [of the] Tsimshian nation of northwestern British Columbia. Welcome. Welcome all people of the world to the land of my ancestors. I hope that you will enjoy your journey to this ancient village site.[2]

William Beynon." The installation seems to build upon the "legacy" of such anthropologists in a way that overlooks the problems contouring early twentieth-century ethnographic research. While chapter three of this dissertation demonstrates some of the problems at stake in Barbeau's work, Derek Smith, a Research Associate at the CMC, elaborates upon the kinds of critical care that should be taken when working with Barbeau's ethnographic archives. Specifically, Smith argues: "[s]ince the archive has mostly been used as a sort of data-bank to be mined for smaller bits of ethnographic data, serious attention has not been given to the theoretical, methodological, social and political consequences of Barbeau's ways of assembling the archives and to the discourses embedded in them" (195). It seems that in drawing from Barbeau's research for the production of the "From Time Immemorial" exhibition, many of these theoretical, social, and political consequences have not been carefully considered.

[2] Even in the English version of the Chief's welcome, the Chief articulates his name and successorship in Tsimshian. In an effort to discern the correct spelling for this name (as it is only spoken orally), I contacted the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Dr. Leslie Tepper, Curator of West Coast Ethnology, informed me that "the exhibit coordinator and the exhibit designer have all left the museum" and "a copy of the speech" as well as "much of the working files" was "not preserved" (Email Correspondence). In subsequent emails, I stated that I only needed to know the Chief's name, but it appears that no one at the CMC is able to recall it. Even at the moment of naming, therefore, First Peoples continue to be treated as nameless ciphers.

Following the English version, French and Tsimshian translations are also recited by the Chief. The video then loops back and the scene is re-played over and over again.

Appallingly reminiscent of the caricatured automatons in Disneyland's amusement ride "It's a Small World After All," the opening vignette in the "From Time Immemorial" installation extends and complicates taxidermy's semiotics in disturbing ways. Here, the hybridization of a so-called prehistoric culture with postmodern technology does not work to "bring" Tsimshian culture into the new millennia: rather, it creates a kind of anachronistic clash that re-entrenches the temporal divide between the present tense and the supposedly ancient time of the other. If recognizing the survivance (to borrow a term from Gerald Vizenor) and contemporaneity of Tsimshian governments in our current era was the goal of this particular vignette, then why not simply play the repeating video clip (as stilted as the wording is) from a television monitor at the entrance?[3] If the curatorial staff who designed this installation thought that projecting the footage onto a three-dimensional mannequin would help to overcome the "flatness" of the film screen or television monitor and, thus, create a more lifelike effect, then the result of their display is ironically and troublingly counterproductive. In "From Time Immemorial," the Tsimshian Chief becomes a taxidermic illusion of native wholeness that is, in effect, all about exteriority and the play of virtual surfaces. As the film screen face so powerfully demonstrates, the native is reconstructed as a blank surface—a screen (in both literal and psychoanalytic senses) upon which Euro-Canadian desires for encountering "prehistoric" aboriginality is projected. In this context, the Tsimshian Chief is not portrayed as an active, contemporary political figure; rather, he is reduced to a virtual fantasy of aboriginality projected onto the body of a generic mannequin. Such a representational strategy, I argue, constitutes a disturbing reinvention of the semiotics of taxidermy—one that reincarnates taxidermy's "topographic obsession with the surfaces of faces" while issuing in a new form of synthetic skin, the skin of the film screen (Rony 97). Instead of the invasive, body-permeating gaze of nanopolitics and its fetishization of the molecular, the display of the Tsimshian Chief manifests a renewed fascination with virtual surfaces in the form of a dermopolitics that is reconstituted in complex and unexpected ways for our postmodern, technological age.

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[3] This alternative option does not eliminate the problem of the Disney-like "welcome, welcome" script the Tsimshian Chief reads. Moreover, the display of the Chief's greeting from a television monitor may also engender new problems. That said, this suggestion does at least remove the most explicitly inflammatory aspect of the display—namely the mannequin-like automatistic structure created by showcasing a generic, costumed statue with a film screen head.

In chapter three's critique of *Nass River Indians*, I analyzed the film's racist ideology in relation to its repeating theme of machinic incorporation and the reproduction of aboriginal bodies as uncanny automatons—spectral figures animated in the guise of mechanic half-life. Such a representational strategy, I argue, is one way that the semiotics of taxidermy encode "liveness"—the haunting, hollow semblance of life that effectively marks the sign of death upon aboriginal peoples supposedly doomed to extinction. In a related but new way, the "Time Immemorial" installation and, in particular, the projection of film footage onto the Tsimshian Chief's head renders this figure of the aboriginal a kind of uncanny automaton. In the "Tsimshian Prehistory" installation, I contend, a related manifestation of the discourse of liveness is at work once again, framing the Chief as a spectral apparition of aboriginality, a ghost in the video machine. As a result, while the introductory display purports to acknowledge the continuance of Tsimshian culture today, its oddly disembodied and technologized portrayal of the Chief effectively frames him in the glow of a ghostly half-life—the half-life of an ostensibly vanishing race.[4]

Fusing the virtual and cyborgian with the taxidermic fetishization of wholeness and liveness, the vignette of the Tsimshian Chief constructs a postmodern fantasy of the "virtual Indian" that perniciously resuscitates early twentieth-century racist discourses of the ethereal, vanishing other in a new guise for the current era. At the same time that the "Time Immemorial" exhibition demonstrates how taxidermy's semiotics may be re-worked in the contemporary moment, the installation's uncanny resonances with representational strategies at work in Barbeau's *Nass River Indians*—namely the reproduction of aboriginal bodies as machinic automatons—throws into relief the cybernetic elements of taxidermic representations in the past. In this sense, the "Time Immemorial" exhibition prompts reconsideration of historical taxidermic strategies while also underscoring the ongoing necessity of tracking taxidermy's new semiotic reconfigurations and continually re-visiting the following questions: In what ways do discourses of white supremacy construct temporality and history to their advantage? How do neocolonial discourses position aboriginal peoples in relation to the categories of "nature" and "culture"? What kinds of spectacle are produced by dominant power structures in order to racialize human bodies?

In a related vein, the "Tsimshian Prehistory" installation at the Canadian Museum of Civilization also prompts important questions about the status of postcolonial theory in our current era. Specifically, it provokes consideration of the ways and the extent to which this field has permeated dominant, or what James Clifford refers to as "majority," museums and the disciplinary discourses which influence curatorial practice, ranging from museology to art history, anthropology, and archaeology.[5] While the problematics of racial spectacle and the categorization of the native other as "prehistoric" have become well-worn terrain in the field of postcolonial criticism, reflexivity about such representational pitfalls seems entirely absent in the CMC's installation regarding Tsimshian peoples. The Museum of Civilization's failure to recognize and address such critical problems points toward what Brent Hayes Edwards, in a recent issue of *Social Text* on the state of postcolonial criticism and theory, refers to as "an issue that has long haunted methodological concerns in postcolonial studies: the politics of interdisciplinarity" (1). While Edwards specifically critiques "the failure of postcolonial work to deal with the economic," I want to suggest that another important trajectory for such research is the field of museology, including not just analysis of representation but also an examination of the structural asymmetries contouring "majority museums" in terms of administrative authority, staff demographics, and the development of ostensibly collaborative working groups between museum professionals and First Peoples.[6] Granted, scholars such as Clifford (in *The Predicament of Culture* and *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century*) have begun to deploy postcolonial theory for the purposes of prompting critical reconsideration of museological representations of the West's others. Underpinning Clifford's "route" through museum space, however, is an academic investment in recuperating anthropology as a discipline, fueled by a belief in "ethnography's ability to shake off its Western epistemological legacy" ("Ethnography" Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin 88). In contrast to Clifford, I remain far more skeptical about the possibility of "salvaging" anthropology itself without also dangerously re-activating the fraught traces of its discursive underpinnings as a discipline designed to support the colonial enterprise. Rather than proceeding from the assumption that anthropology and even Euro-North American museum representations of First Peoples can and should be recuperated, it is important to consider what investments are at stake in such "rescue" operations. In this vein, effective critical engagement between postcolonial theory and museological institutions needs to take stock of the colonialist foundations of both the academy and the museum and, in turn, to continually re-interrogate the persistent neocolonial influences and agendas that shape these state apparati in the present tense.[7]

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[4] Similar to the stamp of the Nisga'a Lisims Government in the prefatory intertitles to the reconstructed version of *Nass River Indians*, the Tsimshian Chief's greeting to the "From Time Immemorial" installation is deployed as a sign of authentication and validation of the narrative, objects, and images staged inside.

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[5] In his essay "Four Northwest Coast Museums: Travel Reflections," James Clifford differentiates between "majority" and "tribal" museums. In this vein, he suggests: "Speaking schematically, majority museums articulate cosmopolitan culture, science, art, and humanism—often with a national slant. Tribal museums express local culture, oppositional politics, kinship, ethnicity, and tradition" (225). While I think the term "majority museum" is useful for denoting dominant museological institutions curated and administered primarily by Euro-North American scholars, I feel that there are several aspects of Clifford's differentiation that should be further nuanced. For example, although such a critical consideration would seem like an obvious choice, Clifford does not devote much critical attention to the ethnographic representation of "others" in his description of majority museums, despite the fact that one of the key majority museums he critiques in this essay is the Royal British Columbia Museum and specifically its First Peoples Gallery. Moreover, I am unsure about the choice of the term "tribal" to denote the other kind of museum Clifford is describing. While Clifford celebrates "tribal" museums as sites of "oppositional politics," he overlooks the power asymmetries that continue to contour many of these institutions. For example, one of the "tribal museums" he discusses at length is the U'mista Cultural Centre on Vancouver Island—a museum whose formation was mandated by the federal government as a condition for the repatriation of potlatch objects confiscated in the early twentieth century. The imperative to continue to display these objects for the public signals the fact that such "tribal" museums are still, unfortunately, sometimes constrained by persistent neocolonial power structures.

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[6] The categories of "museum professionals" and "First Peoples" are often listed as binary terms that seem to downplay the possibility that the field of museum professionals could and should include aboriginal staff. For example, this phrasing was used by the Canadian *Task Force on Museums and First Peoples* that was established in the 1990s.

[7] Other texts that have begun to address colonialism's legacy in museums are Michael Ames' *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: The Anthropology of Museums*, Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn's *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum*, and Mieke Bal's *Double Exposures: The Subject of Cultural Analysis*. In critiquing the problematics of the fields of anthropology and hegemonic museological representations of First Peoples, I am proceeding with the important recognition that the politics of interdisciplinary engagement with postcolonial theory is contested terrain contoured by debates about the field's own institutional development. Specifically, Stuart Hall suggests that postcolonial theory's current constraints around interdisciplinarity may stem from the fact that the field has been "most fully developed by literary scholars, who have been reluctant to make the break across disciplinary (even

While increased critical engagement with postcolonial theory between and across disciplines is one way to provoke reconsideration of the political stakes of the representational and administrative practices of dominant institutions such as museums, archives, and universities, such engagement does not in and of itself approximate a kind of solution to the perpetuation of neocolonial discourses and power asymmetries in the current era. The field of postcolonial studies, I contend, is itself deeply conflicted terrain that demands ongoing scrutiny. The case studies analyzed throughout this dissertation have implicitly addressed some of the possibilities and limits of postcolonial criticism; what I want to do now, though, is to broach these questions in more explicit terms. Discussing some of postcolonialism's most notable discontents, Edwards constructively suggests that "the term *postcolonial* may have proven itself to be most useful precisely when it is placed under severe pressure, angled to highlight the necessarily uneasy relationship between colonial past and neocolonial present, history writing and current critique, cultural studies and political economy, as a task or problematic rather than a method or map" (1). This dissertation has sought to take seriously the insights offered by postcolonial studies as well as the compelling critiques of this field of inquiry. By re-deploying Benjamin's theory of the constellation to link the "colonial past" to conditions and practices of the "neocolonial present," I have placed the concept of the postcolonial, as Edwards suggests, "under severe pressure." The preceding case studies have focused upon particular applications of postcolonial criticism as well as popular accounts of

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postdisciplinary) boundaries required to advance the argument" (Hall 258). The important flip side to Hall's argument, however, involves concerns by certain academic contingents that literary scholars might deploy the rubric of postcolonial studies to effectively "colonize" –to invade and/or appropriate—the "proper" terrain of other disciplines. While the protection of disciplinary boundaries can be counter-productive to anti-colonialist and anti-racist work, as a scholar trained in the field of literary studies, I want to recognize such concerns and to carefully interrogate the imposition of hegemonic literary studies paradigms.

supposedly postcolonial events, including recent practices of archival reconstruction and studies of repatriation cases. In the remainder of this post-script, I want to re-articulate a few of these specific examples to broader debates regarding the conflicted status of this heterogeneous field of theory and criticism in our current historical juncture.

Several crucial "pitfalls of the term," and the concept of, postcolonialism (to recall the words of Anne McClintock's seminal essay) are by now extremely familiar to most scholars working in the field, as well as to many others. In 1992—the same year that "From Time Immemorial" was brought into being at the CMC without an apparent awareness of the issues raised by this body of theory and criticism—the field of postcolonial studies had already garnered so much attention that a rigorous assessment of its possibilities and problematics were compellingly articulated in the now-classic first special issue of *Social Text* devoted expressly to "Third World and Post-Colonial Issues." In this issue, both Ella Shohat (in "Notes on the Postcolonial") and Anne McClintock (in "The Angel of Progress: Pitfalls of the Term 'Postcolonialism'") raise important concerns regarding the status of the "post" in postcolonialism. Specifically, they argue that the prefix "post" too hastily and rigidly suggests a time "after" colonialism, thereby attempting to mark "the final closure of a historical epoch, as if colonialism and its effects are definitively over" (Hall 243).[8] Moreover, the rubric of "postcolonialism" structures global histories around the events of European imperialism and colonization and, in the process, reifies a eurocentric *grand récit*. As McClintock incisively asserts:

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[8] Here, I am quoting Stuart Hall's incisive summary and re-examination of the arguments put forth by Shohat and McClintock in his essay "When Was 'The Post-Colonial'? Thinking at the Limit."

> The term confers on colonialism the prestige of history proper; colonialism is the determining marker of history. Other cultures share only a chronological, prepositional relation to a Euro-centred epoch that is over (post-), or not yet begun (pre-). In other words, the world's multitudinous cultures are marked, not positively by what distinguishes them, but by a subordinate, retrospective relation to linear, European time. (86)

By reinforcing dominant Western teleologies in this way, the term "postcolonialism" effectively recirculates many of the temporal manipulations inscribed by the very same colonial and neocolonial discourses it purports to critique.

While critical troubling of the "post" is only one of many important insights raised by the *Social Text* special issue, it continues to be a particulary oft-cited point of analysis. Without dismissing the important insights offered by Shohat and McClintock, I also want to suggest that their arguments surrounding the prefix "post"—its hasty declaration of the end of colonialism, its eurocentric demarcation of time—have frequently been reduced to a kind of critical sound bite. Over the past decade, the habitual recitation of Shohat's and McClintock's astute observations, distilled into significantly less nuanced versions, has consequently risked weakening the force of critique by a kind of repetition that fails to re-evaluate and a reiteration that flattens out the arguments' complexities.

By focusing arguably too intently on a litany of pitfalls surrounding the term "postcolonialism," scholarly criticism has run the risk of failing to look beyond the polemics of the rubric itself and to interrogate other problematics that arise in postcolonial critical practice. This dissertation's investigation of the semiotics of taxidermy as a particular instrument of colonial and neocolonial discourse has suggested that the problems of historical closure at stake in the concept of postcolonialism extend far beyond terminology and the status of the prefix "post." Stuart Hall re-installs complexity into debates about postcolonialism's critical rubric and practice by reminding us of Shohat's analysis of the two dimensions at stake in the famous prefix—specifically, the "post's" doubled status in signifying both "the closure of a certain historical event or age" and a "going beyond ... commenting upon a certain intellectual movement" (Shohat qtd. in Hall 253). As Peter Hulme puts it, the "post" in "post-colonial"

> has two dimensions which exist in tension with each other: a temporal dimension in which there is a punctual relationship in time between [...] a colony and a post-colonial state; and a critical dimension in which [...] post-colonial theory comes into existence through a critique of a body of theory. (qtd. in Hall 253)

While many analyses tend to focus their critique of postcolonial studies on the term's temporal implications for the workings of history, my dissertation has also, "in tension," sought to interrogate the "critical dimension" through which "postcolonial theory comes into existence" via its critique of previous theory. It is with regard to this second valence of the "post" that critical self-reflexivity often seems to fall away. As a result, I want to re-direct attention to the pitfalls of postcolonial scholarly engagement by more explicitly re-framing an important vein of argumentation running throughout this dissertation.

In many of the preceding case studies that have addressed the "critical dimension" of postcolonial scholarship, I have demonstrated that one of the new dangers of the "post" is the risk of becoming confident in the benefits of postcolonial critical hindsight in a way that blinds us from interrogating how neocolonial power asymmetries and representational tactics may persist in academic work today. Deploying the semiotics of taxidermy as an heuristic device, I have sought to defamiliarize the reconstruction of ostensibly lost colonial texts from the archives of national culture by demonstrating how such forms of recovery and preservation may ironically repeat forms of ethnographic salvaging—or freeze-framing the native other in documents for the posterity of the white nation. Moreover, the final case study regarding Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi points toward another related problematic—namely, the drive toward reading repatriation events as indices of postcolonial resolution or redress. Here, a kind of closure is inscribed not only by the too-hasty "post" in postcolonial but, also, by a corollary pitfall whereby the academic zeal to test out in reading practice its arsenal of concepts—in this case, specifically, theories of the resistance and agency of subjugated groups—precipitates critical mis-readings. Baldly put, such a scholarly zeal may prompt critical misrecognition of events that take the guise of redress and social justice while still perpetuating neocolonial power asymmetries. Thus, while the "post" in postcolonial may attempt to inscribe historical closure upon the colonial "past," the "post" simultaneously gestures toward and, when mis-applied, attempts to prematurely hasten the advent of a futurity of reconciliation. Such a futurity of colonial reparation has not yet and, contrary to teleologies of progress, may never arrive; rather, it is a limit concept that we must struggle toward in unending approximation, without positing it as a moment that is destined to be achieved.

Another vein of critique regarding postcolonial studies that has been reductively recited (in certain circumstances) is the analysis of hybridity. Hybridity theorists such as Homi Bhabha and James Clifford have been criticized for their supposed celebration of the possibilities of cultural migrancy, diaspora, and the movement and inter-mixing of cultures, without providing adequate attention to the class privileges and material circumstances that contour such forms of mobility. Recognizing the limits to this oftreiterated critique, Pheng Cheah asserts: "[m]any have pointed out ad nauseam that hybridity theories are culturalisms that notoriously side-step the constraints and tendencies of politico-economic processes by reducing them to cultural-significatory practices" (298). Attempting to move beyond such rote analyses, Cheah argues for a more nuanced consideration of the tension between metropolitan migrant consciousness—enabled by a kind of "class access to globality"—and the postcolonial nationalism espoused by subaltern subjects that works against "neocolonial global capitalist accumulation" (302).

Like Cheah, a few other scholars have recently begun to re-think the concept of hybridity and its relation to political resistance. Hardt and Negri's *Empire* has attempted to shake up the field by positing that hybridity is no longer a form of postcolonial agency; rather it is the new *modus operandi* for power and, more specifically, for capital in the current era.[9] Mark Driscoll's recent work on "reverse postcoloniality" has importantly attempted to break the critical cycle that only posits how and where hybridity operates without questioning the extent to which it is actually operative in global politics today. Rather than assuming that hybridity is a defining aspect of our current era, Driscoll argues instead that "there's been for some time a reactive, though emergent, moment in global governance of forced dehybridization and homogenization" (70). Thus, in opposition to Hardt and Negri's contention, Driscoll suggests that "reverse postcolonial common sense" hinges upon a re-essentialization of categories such as "race, sexuality, property, and, of course, 'culture'" (68). Although Driscoll's compelling study does not preclude the possibility that hybridity might persist in certain ways within the domain of reverse postcoloniality, neither does his essay explicitly address such factors. As a result, I want to suggest that rather than subscribing to a theory of power-in-globalization that posits *either* hybridity (Hardt and Negri) *or* re-essentialization (Driscoll), it is important to keep open a nuanced understanding of the *dialectical* relationship between these countervailing forces.

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[9] In their chapter entitled "Symptoms of Passage," Hardt and Negri argue: "When we begin to consider the ideologies of corporate capital and the world market, it certainly appears that the postmodernist and postcolonialist theorists who advocate a politics of difference, fluidity, and hybridity in order to challenge the binaries and essentialism of modern sovereignty have been outflanked by the strategies of power. Power has evacuated the bastion they are attacking and has circled around to their rear to join them in the assault in the name of difference. These theorists thus find themselves pushing against an open door" (138).

This dissertation's investigation of the semiotics of taxidermy has offered several opportunities for considering the status of hybridity in the current era. For example, in the final case study regarding the Kwäday Dän Ts'ínchi remains, analysis of the Human Genome Diversity Project demonstrates how, in the process of purportedly disproving any previous (pseudo-)scientific bases for racial categories, the taxonomic classification of different "groups" or "cultures" (as euphemisms for "race") is insidiously perpetuated. In the terms of Driscoll's theory of "reverse postcoloniality," such is precisely another example of dehybridization and re-essentialization at work. On a more general level, a study of the semiotics of taxidermy in North America from the early 1900s to the present offers historically and locationally specific examples for studying the re-essentialization of identities throughout the twentieth century. Case studies of taxidermy's reinscriptions over the past few decades suggest the powerful work of dominant discourses in essentializing the figure of the "native" as a part of "nature" and a touchstone for prehistoric origins. At the same time that aspects of these case studies affirm the pertinence of Driscoll's argument, my examination of the semiotics of taxidermy suggests that the movement toward "forced homogenization" is not all-encompassing.

Moments of cultural hybridization still persist, often, as Hardt and Negri suggest, as part of power's operation in the current era. The example with which I began this post-script—of the automatistic figure at the entrance to the "Tsimshian Prehistory" installation—suggests that power may deploy strategies of hybridization, fusing postmodernism's obsession with the virtual and the cyborgian with the figure of the ostensibly pre-technological, prehistoric native. Moreover, the provocative connections between the "Tsimshian Prehistory" installation at the CMC today and the representational strategies at work in Barbeau's 1928 ethnographic documentary suggest that such hybrid semiotic configurations have been in the works for quite some time.

If the era in which we live is indeed a "postcolonial" one (where debate about the prefix "post" and its meanings is ongoing) this dissertation has sought to demonstrate that the tension inherent in this term—the tension between what Hulme has theorized as its doubled temporal and critical dimensions—demands vigilant re-assessment of the geopolitical and socio-economic landscape as well as the work of academics who seek to study and critique it. In this vein, I have theorized the semiotics of taxidermy as an heuristic device that links colonial and neocolonial museological, photographic, cinematic, and journalistic representational strategies to academic enterprises such as archival reconstruction and preservation today. My aim in doing so has been to defamiliarize our understanding of what the so-called postcolonial era looks like and to point toward the powerful ways that discourses, images, and preoccupations once so amenable to colonial exploitation may be reinscribed in the present—and often under the pretext of postcolonial self-reflexivity. This investigation of the semiotics of taxidermy constitutes only one geographically and historically particular strategy for throwing into relief such recurrent problems. Moreover, the examples explored in this dissertation are only a few nodal points in a shape-shifting constellation that extends across the heterogeneous domains of academic production, museological representation, political discourse, and popular culture. I invite the reader to continue to articulate new sites of inquiry to this constellation and to continue the anti-racist, anti-colonialist, and anti-neocolonialist work of critiquing taxidermy's semiotic reconfigurations.

Critical Glossary

Aboriginal: The word "aborigines" "gained currency as a generic term for indigenous peoples" during the era of exploration and colonization ("Aboriginal" Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin 4). Since that time, the term—burdened with the pejorative registers of colonial stereotype—has been modified to "aboriginal." While it is difficult to ascertain consensus surrounding the always complex and contested topic of naming, in Canada today, "Aboriginal" has emerged as one of the most commonly used terms for referring collectively to First Nations, Métis, and Inuit people. The dominant institutions of national culture have attempted to validate usage of this rubric through the Department of Indian Affairs' 2002 publication of "Words First: An Evolving Terminology Relating to Aboriginal Peoples in Canada" that attempts to set guidelines for the "proper" (or politically correct) use of terminology by its employees. As well, the newly opened First Peoples Hall at the Canadian Museum of Civilization seeks to validate this terminology via a textual panel mounted at the entrance to the installation that assumes a first person plural speaking voice to assert: we "used to be called 'Native'" but "[n]ow we are more often known collectively as Aboriginal." While current usage of the term "Aboriginal" is often capitalized, my dissertation will use a lower-case version. I do so to register potential differences between the now-popularized category of "Aboriginal" identity and the ways in which this term is sometimes invoked in other manifestations, as an adjective rather than a proper noun. In this sense, the lower-case spelling throughout this dissertation is not intended to undermine the potential significance of this category for many people and communities in Canada today.

Euro-American and Euro-Canadian: While the Department of Indian Affairs' "Words First" document explains many different terms used to identify aboriginal peoples, the population that remains conspicuously absent from the list of terminology is that of "white" or "Euro-Canadian" culture. According to the Department of Indian Affairs, therefore, it seems that the dominant culture requires no name, no definition, no taxonomization. Such a lack of discussion or reflexivity about how to name or refer to the settler cultures that performed the tasks of colonization on the new continent, I contend, is a function of the hegemonic status of such groups. In an effort to name this population, I invoke the categories of "Euro-Canadian" and "Euro-American" throughout the dissertation to refer to the people living in Canada and the United States (respectively) who are of European descent and who are identifiable as part of "white" culture. Discussing whiteness, Richard Dyer acknowledges "the variety of whiteness," or the differences and hierarchies within this category, while simultaneously arguing for the necessity of critiquing an "overarching hegemonic whiteness," a norm that homogenizes differences (12). In a similar way, while I recognize that the terms "Euro-Canadian" and "Euro-American" contain within them differences of gender, class, and cultural background, I believe they enable the tactical recognition of the dominant culture that continues to hold a majority of positions in the government and the corporate world in Canada and the U.S.

First Nations: During the 1970s, the term "First Nations" emerged in Canada to replace the colonial misnomer "Indian" and, more specifically, the particular designation of the "Indian band." According to the Department of Indian Affairs, however, "[a]lthough the term First Nations is widely used, no legal definition of it exists" ("Words First")—a circumstance that may both engender further discrimination as well as possibilities for resistance to legal taxonomization. Throughout this dissertation, I use the term to acknowledge specific indigenous communities or political constituencies in the present tense and/or to discuss the historical formation of these communities in the past.

First Peoples: According to literary critic Cheryl Suzack, "[o]ne of the challenges of undertaking comparative, transnational work in relation to aboriginal and indigenous peoples is the concern for appropriate terminology when discussing differently constituted cultural, political, and national locations" (32). In this vein, Suzack suggests the use of the term "First Peoples" to "privilege cultural connections between aboriginal/indigenous peoples of Canada and the United States, which have been disrupted by national boundaries" (32). Thus, Suzack sees "First Peoples" as a term that crosses and potentially contests national borders. As a result, it is related to and yet different from the nomenclature of "First Nations," which more frequently denotes particular aboriginal groups within Canada.

Indigenous: As a synonym for aboriginal, the word "indigenous" has gained more of an international currency over the last several years. Indeed, "indigenous" seems to be the preferred nomenclature of the United Nations and its working groups for referring to the native inhabitants of regions across the world ("Words First"). According to Suzack, while "aboriginal" has more widespread acceptance in Canada, "indigenous" seems to be the preferred category in the United States today (32).

Native: Used to describe "the indigenous inhabitants of colonies," this term has been, "in colonial contexts, overtaken by a pejorative usage [...] to categorize those who were regarded as inferior to the colonial settlers" or administrators ("Native" Ashcroft, Griffiths, Tiffin 158). The term "native" is also frequently the generic category invoked in anthropological discourse to refer to its object of analysis. Because my dissertation engages in sustained critiques of colonial and anthropological discourses, I frequently invoke the term "native" to refer to the other that is represented, stereotyped, and generally constructed by colonial discourse. Often, I refer to "the native" in the singular when the plural form might seem more semantically appropriate. I do so deliberately, however, to underscore the ways that colonial and anthropological discourses reduce difference and homogenize the object of their subjugation.

Native American: While the term "Native Canadian" is now often considered out-of-date, "Native American" continues to be one of the more commonly used rubrics for indigenous peoples of the United States. For those who consider the term "American Indian" to be antiquated or offensive due to its incorporation of Columbus' colonial misnomer, "Native American" seems to be a more preferred option. As a result, when referring to indigenous groups in the United States, I sometimes invoke the category "Native American" in this study.

The West/Western: With the rise of postcolonial theory over the last several decades, the category of "the West" has been used by many scholars to denote an imperial culture that has sought to dominate the global arena and to enforce its values, beliefs, and epistemes upon other cultures. In the process, however, the concept of "the West" or Western culture has often been discussed as an homogenized, monolithic, or abstract force in critical scholarship. Responding to these concerns, Neil Lazarus argues that, "as it is used in postcolonial theory," the West "has no coherent or credible referent. It is an ideological category masquerading as a geographic one"

(44). In so doing, such criticism serves "to mystify this power, rendering its social ground opaque" (44). From a Marxist perspective, Lazarus consequently argues that "the category of 'the West' comes to stand in for imperialist power; but since what is thus named is preeminently a civilizational value rather than a mode of production or a social formation, this alibi of 'the West' serves to dematerialize what it tacitly references" (54). While at times it may be strategic or useful to reference the overarching and monolithic category of Western culture as a way of registering its audacious "grandeur," I agree with Lazarus' call for greater critical attention to the specific "social ground" of imperialist practices. As a result, I will make reference to Western culture from time to time throughout this dissertation but will often alternatively employ the categories of "Euro-Canadian" and "Euro-American" culture to more precisely denote historically and geopolitically specific forms of dominant white culture.

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